THE

True ENGLISH

REVOLUTIONIST,

OR, THE

Happy TURN, Rightly Taken.

Rursus & in veterem Fato Revoluta figuram.

By CONYERS PLACE, A. M.

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PREFATORY.

THE *Author's Encouragements to Publiſh his following Senſe of the* Revolution *are,*

1ſt, *The* Conſcious Innocence *of his* Intention, *which Supports him againſt both his own* Apprehenſions *and* Foreign Suggeſtions *of falling under the Diſpleaſure either of his Governours, or any other truly Impartial* Britains, *and Well-Wiſhers to Her Majeſty, and the preſent Happy Eſtabliſhment.*

2dly, *His Perſonal Character, and well known Zeal for the* Revolution *and its Intereſts, which he preſumes can leave no room to ſuſpect that what he ſays diſagreeable to Mr.* Hoadly's Juſtification *of the* Revolution *can proceed from any other Motives then good Conſcience, Love of Truth and Honourable Meaning.*

3dly, *Love of his Country, ſenſe of Duty, and the advancement of its* Intereſts, *he thinks his Country may be Experimentally convinced, it never will be Happy either in the Profeſſion of* Paſſive Obedience, *or* Reſiſtance, *as they have been, and are hitherto generally propoſed and underſtood, by their Aſſerters; the Nation has ſuffer'd with a Vengeance by the one, and was almoſt brought to Death's Door by the other, and yet he finds neither can*

well deny, but the Miſchiefs the one has, and the other had like to have occaſion'd were the Natural Conſequences enough, if not neceſſary ones of the Principles, and the Practice was but purſuant to the Doctrines; hence he Concludes, that whatſoever of the Doctrines be True, muſt certainly yet be Ill-explain'd and Underſtood; and he conceives there is ſmall hopes that the Kingdom ſhould ever Unite or be of a Piece, till this great Fundamental of Diviſion is ſomeway better Adjuſted. Which if it is not, in all likelyhood, (unleſs Ruin prevent) Whig *and* Tory, High Church *and* Low, *muſt diſtract the Nation with Scuffling on, ſometimes one uppermoſt then t'other, till the laſt Trump parts them, and calls them, the one Crying out* Tyranny, *and the other* Anarchy, *to other Buſineſs; he is ſenſible that either Party is too great to be violently Cruſht, and that tho' however the almoſt equal Scale may incline by turns to this ſide or that, yet 'tis by accident of Place rather than increaſe of Number, and makes no other Inequality in the ſolid of the Parties, than by an Appendage not to be confided in to the more prevailing.*

For his own part, his Piece ſpeaks for him that he is fully convinced of the Truth of Non Reſiſtance, *and* Government, *nay,* Monarchical Government *being Originally by Divine Appointment, and not* Popular Inſtitution, *which have ſuch fair Appearances on their ſide from Nature, Reaſon, Divine and Humane Teſtimony, that the World is likely ſooner to Shake than they, ſo as to be extirpated out of Mens Minds, by the United Reſolves of all the Powers of Mankind.*

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He obſerves that Civil Inconveniencies ariſing from Non Reſiſtance, *and the inſecurity of Communities by it, is that from which its Falſehood is chiefly inferred, and 'tis with more regard to its Conſequences as an Inſtrument of* Tyranny, *than the Conſideration of the Abſtracted Principle itſelf, that the Honeſt* Whig *argues back from upon it; as 'tis the Civil Advantages ariſing from* Reſiſtance *that Recommends it to him, more than the Principle itſelf; whilſt the Honeſt* Tory, *more regarding Principle than Conſequence, argues from Truth to Practice; thus he conceives the Caſe ſtands with thoſe that mean Well of either Party, that is, are for preſerving the Conſtitutions; one thinks* Non Reſiſtance *muſt have dangerous Effects upon his Countries juſt Liberties, and it therefore cannot be true; the other ſays it is true, and cannot have ill Effects; the one thinks it expoſes Mankind to ſuch Inconveniences, that God would never impoſe it; the other thinks God has impoſed it, and therefore no Inconveniencies are to be feared from it, ſhowing with leſs probability of Truth, equal Evils to ariſe the other way, as he believes what the one maintains to be True, ſo he acknowledges what the other inſiſts on to be Neceſſary,* viz. *the Security of juſt Liberty, and is apt to think that many an Honeſt* Whig *would acquiſce in the Principle of* Non Reſiſtance, *were it well Cured of its dreaded Conſequences, and the well-meaning* Non Reſiſtant *would be far from be-grudging him his Ends attain'd, derived from and conſiſtent with his Doctrine, and if one had his Ends, and the other enjoy'd his Principles, he hopes many of both ſides would*

be

be Pleased, and something done towards Peace at Home, much more desirable than that Abroad, which was the first view of his Design.

He has endeavour'd to fix the Rule of Loyalty also, by reducing it from being what it has too long been a roving Principle of Hot-Heads, and the result of each Man's private Opinion to be, what its true Name is, Legality or Adherence to the Parliamentary Determination *of the Regal Title, and that Loyal is nothing but Legal, he is nothing moved with foreseen Irrision for his Pains, as a shallow Reconciler of Contradictions, an empty Projecter of impracticable Things,* &c. *being contented to sit down under the Character of an Extravagant, and Fool to the Bargain, if it be but a Charitable one.*

He is sensible of the Imperfection of his Scheme of things, and that it may be liable to many great Objections, but things use not to be begun, and perfected at once, and if he have but struck the least Light, that may give occasion to greater Heads, for whom Heaven has referred the Glory of putting things in a Right Light between Parties, in order to better Agreement, he shall think himself abundantly Recompensed.

Or, if the usual fate of Reconcilers be his, Cassandra's *Fate, and* Cassander's *Success will still leave him a comfortable Retirement into himself, and the Satisfaction of wrapping up himself as Warm as he can in his own Integrity.*

THE

CHAP. I.

The True Engliſh *Revolutioniſt*,

1. BElieves in God, as his Infinite Nature, Being and Attributes, are ſet forth by the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, contained in her Liturgy, and XXXIX Articles evidently grounded on the Scriptures.

2. Whom from an intimate ſenſe of the higheſt Obligations he profeſſes to Love with all his Heart, Soul, Mind, and Strength, and whatever elſe is in the inſide of him: For whoſe alone Pleaſure he owns himſelf Created, and ſo far Raiſed beyond the common Blanks of Natural Beings, (whoſe End is wholly without themſelves, without ſecondary Advantage redounding to them from their Exiſtence, and that fill up only,) to Rationality, as to be capable of Happineſs and Enjoyment for himſelf.

3. The ground of this Happineſs he acknowledges only to be God's Service; or True Religion regulated by Divine Revelation in the Goſpel, which with an honeſt and faithful Heart unaffectedly purſued with however faultring and ſublapſing Steps, he comfortably truſts, will bring him ſo far within the Terms of Divine Grace and Favour, as to be a Subject capable of the Divine Pardon propoſed thro' the Mediator.

4. Hence he Loves his Country, not only from Natural Sympathy and Relation between him and it, as its cognate Elements have lent the Materials of one part of his Conſtitution, and are his ſo many inanimate Brother Germans, nor ſo much as a Nurſe, whoſe firſt acquaintaince, and early gratifications of his Childhood with Pleaſures, have entail'd a Prejudice on his Riper-Years in its favour, and whoſe firſt entertainment of his Opening Senſes, and courting his freſh

and unengaged Affections with the novelty of Diverſions, ſtill touch him with an I-know-not-what agreeableneſs of ſweet Reflection; having made impreſſions on his Infancy, like thoſe cut in young Trees, that inſtead of wearing out, enlarge with time and growth; nor from the temperate felicity of the Clime, the fertility of the Soil, or variety of Natural Productions, nor merely as having retain'd his Inclinations by the uſual motives of Nature in an unuſual and ſuperior Degree; but much more from the more advanced Conſiderations of its happy Political both Civil, and Religious Diſpoſition, putting him in poſſeſſion of ſome, and ſafely conducting him to the reverſionary part of that Happineſs for which he was made; by which, in the progreſs of his Adult, and now paſt Adult Life, it has fixt, and in gratitude challenges Preference by maturity of reaſonable choice in his Inclinations. As he finds himſelf a Member of ſuch a well temper'd Community in it, wherein together with thoſe whom Nature or Choice has made Parts and Partners of his Temporal Happineſs, he may reliſh the Comforts of Life, and the Pleaſures of Nature with ſafety and all convenient freedom, and entertain himſelf with the allowances of Providence, with as much Liberty as correct or civilized Nature can think proper. As he finds himſelf thrown in it into the Lap of ſuch a Church, into whoſe Boſom thoſe that are receiv'd, may live in the ſame aſſurances of Heaven, as if they were in *Abraham's*; where all things are ready prepared to his hand to make himſelf Happy, by ſerving God acceptably, and he has nothing elſe left to do but preparing himſelf with a willing and conforming Heart, to riſe and do it; a Church that wants nothing to be removed but Malice abroad, and prejudiced Ignorance at home, to make it the Glory of the Earth.

5. For the ſenſe of theſe providential Advantages, as he thinks himſelf incapable of ever making ſufficient Retributions of Praiſe and Thankfulneſs to the goodneſs of their Almighty Diſpenſer; ſo he thinks it an eſſential part of this Gratitude, and his Duty, as to propugn them, by all lawful means, Invaded, ſo joyfully to Congratulate the ſignal Preſervations of them to his Country from conſeſt and imminent danger.

6. With

6. With the ſimplicity of this and no otherwiſe deſigning Eye, as Information has lead his Judgment, he has ſtill put up and down in his good Wiſhes and Eſteem, the publick proſecutions of Perſons and Parties, and is with an honeſt, tho' leſs politick Plainneſs, not ſhy of diſcovering to others, as occaſion offers that inward rate ſign'd and confirm'd by his Judgment.

7. It was theſe ſuppoſed conſequences of Duty upon the love of his Country thus grounded, that in his crude and hardly yet half ſerious Years, he confeſſes had ſecretly relaxed in him the whole intention of the Nerves of his Active Loyalty, and he hardly conſulted himſelf ſo far as to know how far the Paſſive part of the Principle was left intire, towards King *James*, when his unnatural Meaſures, and the open Violences of precipitate Adminiſtration to effect it, had once made his deſign of ſubverting, with our Religion, the Laws and Temper of the Monarchy, no longer a doubt; none more ſollicitouſly invoked the Eaſtern Winds, or with keener Impatience puſht imaginarily faſter on, the delaying Fleet that was charged with his Country's Deliverance, and no *Engliſhman*, that expected nothing but his own in the Common Good, ſaw with greedier Expectations, or entertain'd with heartier Joy, the completion of his Hopes by the Revolution; the Revolution to which whatever makes *England* valuable to Proteſtants is owing. The Revolution without which to all humane appearance Slavery and Idolatry muſt have been the portion of our Poſterities, which, whatever Sons of the Church of *England* do not Congratulate to themſelves and their Country deſerve the Fate it reſcued them from; to grind like *Sampſon*, with their Hair cut and Eyes put out, darkned and helpleſs Flower to be Tranſubſtantiated, in the Mills of Popiſh *Philiſtines*.

8. Suitably to this his ſenſe of the Revolution, he always thought that King *William* the great and auſpicious Inſtrument of it, ought to be treated, to whom within the Sphere of his little Abilities, and the narrow Walks of his Converſation, he fail'd not to pay all the acknowledgments of a ſincere and affectionately Loyal Subject.

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9. And with an increaſe of Devotion does the ſame to the Apple of the Nation's Eye her preſent Majeſty, whoſe Title to the Crown ſhe wears, he believes, to be as juſt as her Government, and ſound as her Heart; not only acquieſcing but being abundantly ſatisfied with the Right of the preſent Settlement, having his Heart in its Intereſts, that ſends along as many and as Vigorous good Wiſhes with her Majeſty's Fleets and Armies abroad, as prodigally ſcatters Demonſtrations of Satisfaction in the Adminiſtration at home, as extravagantly in deſire ſets at the remoteſt diſtance the fatal Neceſſity —— of her Majeſty, as thoſe that enjoy the ampleſt Revenues under her.

10. As he profeſſes himſelf thus intirely well Affected to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, ſo his being ſo, has not proceeded from Family Preſident only, or Prejudiced Education, Party Affection, Blind Zeal, or Implicit Belief, nor is he meerly carried like a vulgar Log with the ſtream of the Times, ready to ride the contrary way, if the Tide ſhould turn; neither is it any baſe or daſtardly Complyance in him, to avoid foreſeen Temporal Inconveniencies from doing otherwiſe, nor from more ſordid Reſpects to By Ends, and preſent or future Self-Advantages of this World, but from Motives of Honeſt and Chriſtian Conſideration, and rational Conviction that 'tis his Duty; making his Conſcience guided by the Word of God, and Civil Duty as Doctrinally profeſt, and underſtood from that Word by the Church of *England*, its Rule; and the Intereſt of this his preſent Life no otherwiſe his End, then as conſider'd reſulting from, and concluded in, the Common Welfare of his Country. For he is ſenſible, that Loyalty, however Loud and Clamorous, if not built on Principle, is but an empty or inſidious Noiſe, to gain, or retain Princes Favours; and that a Government, maintain'd only by the prevailing force of a preſent Party, however Flatter'd with the Acclamations of ſuch Falſe Loyaliſts, can promiſe it ſelf no Security, unleſs it lays hold of the Conſciences of Subjects, by their being perſuaded of its Eſtabliſhment on Right and Equity, and that the preſent poſſeſſor of the Adminiſtration,

tion, has a fair and true Title to their Duty, and Obedience, which alone can perpetuate.

11. He is heartily concern'd therefore, to ſee that her Majeſty's Government, that has recommended it ſelf to the Affections of her People, by ſo many ſignal Inſtances, of her ſelf, and it, being Providences peculiar Favourites, by a train of great and Wonderful Succeſſes; and has all juſt and neceſſary Recommendations to their Conſciences and Judgments alſo, ſhould yet not meet, with that thorough Succeſs of Entertainment, and Approbation from them, that it both deſerves, and is neceſſary, to tranſmit it a Bleſſing to Poſterity, by their full Conviction of its not being built or maintain'd on Principles of ſinful Diſloyalty, or wrongful Uſurpation; but that ſome ſhould notwithſtanding be ſo far led away with the unlucky Thought of its being otherwiſe, as by refuſing to give the legal Aſſurances of Fidelity to it, to declare themſelves Tacite Aſſerters of anothers Cauſe againſt it, whilſt thoſe that eſpouſe it, or acquieſce under it, dangerouſly differ amongſt themſelves about the Modes of its defenſe, and agreeing in the End, fall out about the means of reconciling themſelves to it; which difference if Proſecuted, as ſome have begun, may prove the greater Evil of the two.

12. 'Tis her Majeſty's, and the Conſtitutions undoubted Intereſt, and what the poſture and preſent Circumſtances of things require, that their well-wiſhers ſhould employ their Offices, in removing Scruples and unjuſt Prejudices; to reconcile the unhappily diſaffected and diſſatisfied; but under the pretenſe of detecting Falſe Friends, ſome he finds take the contrary courſe, as if they were trying, how few Friends they could leave the Eſtabliſhment; ſtudy Arts and Arguments to create the Government more Enemies, and fewer Friends then it has, by ſubtly turning the latter into the former; inſtead of bringing Non complyers in, ſee how many of thoſe that do comply, they can turn out, making the QUEEN ſuſpect her beſt Subjects, the Eſtabliſhment its heartieſt Friends, making Men, whether they will or no, againſt their Profeſſions, Oaths, Intentions, and Inclinations, unwittingly and unwillingly, its Under-

miners, and giving out on the other ſide, ſuch terms of Complyance, as in the Government's Name, which it neither appears to demand, or expect.

13. There is a great variety in Humane Apprehenſion, and every Man underſtands the ſame thing, with ſomething otherwiſe in it peculiar to himſelf, this variety of Taſte produces a like variety of Judgment, and makes the principle Conſcience, or what Men call ſo, have different Humours and Conſtitutions, ſo as not to be equally wrought to Conviction of the ſame Truth, by the ſame appearances; and if many Men agree in the ſame thing, yet they are ſeldom all brought to it the ſame way; and tho' the Revolution wants not a proper variety of Methods of Vindication to reconcile Conſciences to it, by falling in with Mens different ſenſe of things, and adapting Satisfactions ſeveral ways to the ſeveral Prepoſſeſſions that their Judgments follow, yet either thro' Party Engagements, or impatience of Contradiction, from an over fulneſs of themſelves, in ſome of its warmeſt Aſſerters, it muſt not be allow'd the uſe of this ſo great Advantage; whilſt they will have all Conſciences bound to their own way, and Damn all Loyalty to it, that does not come to be ſo that way they would have it; to Swear, to Pray, to Fight, to Dye for the QUEEN and Conſtitution, will not prove a Man firm to them, unleſs they are done with a particular belief, without which nothing will ſatisfy, or raiſe a Man much above the Character of a *Jacobite* Convict.

14. This he obſerves to be the ſhort and the long of the Quarrel, that Mr. *Hoadly* has pickt with the Biſhop of *Exeter*; Mr. *Hoadly* indeed, like a Maſter Prize-player in Controverſy, preludes his onſet with all the Ceremonious Forms of Civility done very well over, that is, ſhakes Hands with his Lordſhip, deſires they may part Friends, Flouriſhes his Weapon, and all that, very gracefully, before he downright lays him on: But the plain *Engliſh* of all at laſt comes to this, that the Biſhop, and every other Man beſides, is an Enemy to the Revolution, diſaffected to to the Queen, and an underminer of her Government, that does not aſſent to the Truth of theſe Propoſitions.

Firſt,

First, That the Original of Goverment is from the People.

Secondly, That Subjects have a right to Reſiſt the Supreme Powers ſet over them.

Pronouncing the contraries to theſe, the *jus divinum* of Government, the Doctrine of poor *Paſſive-Obedience*, guilty of no leſs than High Treaſon.

15. Whatever truth there may be in the Propoſitions themſelves either way, yet he Apprehends, that Mr. *Hoadly* is inexcuſably to blame many ways, tho' his Principles hold good for taking upon him to try, and arraign by them, as ſettled Evidence, his fellow Subjects, tho' of the loweſt Rank; by whoſe Order or Authority does he put this new and ſurpriſing Teſt of Loyalty? Which if follow'd, and preſt with the Authority, Mr. *Hoadly* would inſinuate, the neceſſary defenſe of the Revolution, and preſent Eſtabliſhment require it ſhould; and would have it thought, that it already is, would prove the occaſion of great Unhappineſſes likely, both to her Majeſty, and her Government, by putting, perhaps the greater part of her Faithfulleſt Subjects of the Church of *England*, under an undeſerved neceſſity of appearing Diſaffection by recuſancy, amongſt which Number he owns himſelf, who, tho' he know nothing by himſelf, but that he is at the ſame time as zealouſly and heartily Affected to her Majeſty and the preſent Conſtitution, to all intents and purpoſes as true to all the Rights and Liberties, both of Mankind in general, and thoſe of his Country in particular; as abhorrent from Tyranny, as the more forward aſſumer of all theſe to himſelf, and preſcriber of them to others, yet muſt own himſelf the thing he could leaſt imagine himſelf to be, the Contradiction to all this, if that Contradiction is implyed in the Non-aſſent to his Propoſitions; which he thinks he may the more boldly diſown the Truth of, becauſe he takes the Legiſlature, ſo far as they have thought fit to concern themſelves with that Determination, to leave them under that Preſumption.

 16. The

16. The Government's regards to Conſcience, ſhow they are by no means for Cramping Men, in any Beliefs conſiſtent with the Fundamentals of Chriſtianity, and the Communities Safety; and 'tis not only its, but all other Governments Intereſt, not to ſtraiten the way to conſcientious Reconcilement and Complyance with them; but to allow all juſt latitude of Approbation, by leaving free and open to Men, all the ways that are Innocent, by which they may be brought, at leaſt to a peaceable acquieſcence, which he thinks may Intitle Men to a Governments Protection, tho' not to its Preferments, and to be Tolerated, tho' not too much Truſted. And had Mr. *Hoadly* ſtood only upon the private Liberty, and Legality, of Holding and Profeſſing the Doctrine of Reſiſtance, and Government being a conveyance from the People; had he or any others, that think her Majeſty's Right and Title, and the Revolution, to be that way only Juſtifiable, been queſtion'd or proſecuted for it, as a Tenent Criminal by the Law, and been denyed the Freedom of making himſelf a good Subject that way, which he only thought it poſſible to be ſo, his Appeal to the Conſtitution had been well grounded; but to put his Doctrines as a ſtate *Shiboleth*, impoſed of Neceſſity, and as by Authority, leaving no room, for any Man to think well of the QUEEN, or be thought well of by her, but thro' his Propoſitions, he takes to be much wrong, injurious to the QUEEN, and Church, contrary to the true Intention and Intereſt of the Eſtabliſhment; had he ſaid, that Subjects are free from the neceſſity of owning the Doctrines of *Paſſive-Obedience*, he had ſaid Right; but to pretend, that they are under a neceſſity of diſowning it, to exlcude it from the Common Benefit, of being Tolerated by that Law, that but to'ther Day it was poſitively Eſtabliſh'd by, and not to allow thoſe the Liberty of becoming good Subjects with it, that would, and could, he thinks contrary both to the Law and Reaſon.

17. And to ſhow therefore, that there is not that Irreconcilableneſs, that Mr. *Hoadly* ſuppoſes between the Juſtice of the Revolution, her Majeſty's Title to the Crown, and

and *Passive-Obedience*, but that that Doctrine is left much the same to the Subject, as it was before, equally true, equally lawful and allowable, is the design of what ensues.

18. For the more Regular Prosecution of his Thoughts to which purpose, he will,

First, Set forth the following Articles of his Creed, and Confession of his Faith concerning the Revolution, and its Nature, what he takes it to be.

Secondly, Reflect upon, and consider its defenses; *First*, in its beginning, the Opposition to King *James*. *Secondly*, in its Progress, and Completion. The *First*, under the Title of the *Forced Push*; the *Second*, under that of the Abdication. *Thirdly*, consider its Vindication by the Doctrine of Resistance.

19. *First*, For the Articles of his Creed concerning the Revolution it self in general, he takes the Revolution to be truly and strictly what it is called, a Revolution, that is to say, a Restitution of things gone of, to their former places, a falling back again of the Laws, the Government, and Religion, into their old forsaken Course, and Chanel, a bringing into the same posture, and putting in the same order as before, whatever in our Civil or Religious Constitution, was luxed, distorted, unhinged, or violently heaved out of Place, by unnatural, and forced Administration by King *James*; a Reduction in Civils, from Tyrannical and Arbitrary Proceedings, to the true setled Temper, and Moderation of the Monarchy, and bringing down the Administration, to the same heights, lengths, and breadths, as before King *James* begun to play his Pranks; or at fartheſt, as before such Deviations, which as preparatory dispositions of the Kingdom, for the foreseen designs of his Reign, had, as some would have it, been a making for some time before, a bringing back Religion fairly a running towards Popery and Idolatry, to its reform'd Constitution by King *Edward* the Sixth, and Queen *Elizabeth*.

This

This is the Subſtance, of what he finds in himſelf, as to the Nature of the Revolution; that it was a happy Deliverance of his Country's Religion, and Civil Conſtitution by Relapſe, and bringing them back to their forſaken Eſtate, that they had been driven off from; 'tis Revolution thus taken, for Old *England* reſtored, for reform'd *England* ſecured again, that he for his part wiſht for, rejoyced at, and gave thanks for, and as much more agreeable to the ſame Notion as any Body pleaſes to add; but if any thing contrary to this is meant by it, he thinks a great many honeſt, well meaning *Engliſh* Men, are miſtaken, and abuſed in the Word, as the Word it ſelf is by thoſe, that would put it upon their Country Men, for that which neither it means, nor they mean by it.

20. 'Tis the particular good Fortune of the Revolution, that by her Majeſties Goodneſs, and the condeſcending Indulgence of her Reign, and the skill of her Miniſtry, it is took by each Sect, and Party of the Nation, for that which they like moſt, the *Presbyterians* underſtand by it the ſecond part of the good Old Cauſe, a fair ſtep made towards the lowring of Prelacy; to the *Anabaptiſt*, 'tis as the beginning of the *Millennium*, an Introduction to the Deſtruction of Civil Magiſtracy; the *Quakers* make light on't; and the *Independent* thinks it a turn much to the Advantage of the Congregational way; amongſt our Parties, the *Whig*, with a clear and ſhrill Voice, Merrily Chants its Praiſes; the *Tory* Grumbles out his Satisfaction, and would ſpeak it Louder, were he a little more in Play; and and the *Trimmer* adores it, next to the Word ſteddy; ſo that to all, but the *Papiſt*, and the loſt *Jacobite*, 'tis that turn'd up that every one wiſht for, 'tis as the *Manna*, the Pine Apple, the very what do-ye-lack of Providence, where every Taſte meets what it Fancies, far be it from him, to make the Revolution look any way the leſs, what any take it to be, or diſſolve this ſo profitable Enchantment; he wiſhes, that it may not only continue to ſeem, but to be the Happineſs each deſire; only he would have all ſo far undeceived, as to the Nature of Revolution in general, as not to Dote ſo much upon it, as to make a Trade

on't,

on't, and be led by the Advantages of one, to desire more; he by no means envies its universal Gratification of all Parties, so as it answer but its main, its only Principal End, the Preservation of the Establish'd Church and Monarchy; that being but first done, then let the several Sects take its Advantages amongst them, and make the most of them for themselves. But as he looks upon the Revolution, to respect first and directly, the Establish'd Church and Monarchy, as a Member of this Church, and Monarchical Establishment, he thinks, he has at least as much Right, and Reason, to take it for a turn in his Favour, as the rest mention'd have in theirs; and thinks it strange and unnatural for any one to quote Revolution against any known Doctrine of the Church, or pretend, under the Name of the Revolution to Brow beat the Members of the Church, for Professing those its Doctrines, agreeably to their Consciences, with all due complyance with the Government, which were part of what was contended for, and some of the rescue; and those, that explain the Revolution, inconsistently with the allowance of any known Doctrine, or Tenent, formerly held, not positively changed, or interdicted by the Legislature in the Church, make a Blind, and a Cover of the Word, he thinks, unfairly to play a party Game under, he takes the Revolution, to be a Restitution of the lawful Monarchy, not a sinking it lower towards Anarchy, much less, a throwing of us back into that Lord-knows-when-state of Nature, that our Ancestors were in, when the Nation was all Wood, and they lived like Deer in its Copses; a reducing the Government to *Magna Charta*, *Cook* upon *Littleton*, &c. not an I-know-not-what change of the Nation, and People in it, into what they were never any thing like before, so far as Revolution means Confusion, Hell broke-loose, or all Folks at Liberty from Law and Religion; he thinks the good Word and Thing, as relating to the Nation, to be much abused; and has nothing more to say to such Revolution, then to wish it better.

21. The Cauſes of the Revolution, efficient, and final, he thinks ought to go a great way in diſcovering its Effects, and that it cannot neceſſarily imply in it any ſubverſion, or change of Principle, Doctrine, or Opinion, Civil or Religious, that muſt follow upon it, in thoſe for whoſe ſakes it was brought about to their contraries. Much leſs, any real Metamorphoſis of the Conſtitutions themſelves to new and before unknown Natures.

22. The final cauſe of the Revolution, 'tis notorious, was deliverance of the Laws, and Eſtabliſh'd Religion, broke fatally in upon, and calling for help againſt Invaſion. The efficient Humane Cauſe were the Members themſelves of theſe Bleeding Eſtabliſhments, having recourſe to thoſe, whom next themſelves, it nearlieſt concerned. Now to ſuppoſe this Deliverance, ſo accompliſh'd, as to import a neceſſity of departure in Principle, or the nature of the Conſtitution, from either Eſtabliſhment, is to make the End contradict, both it ſelf, and the Means too; we can't imagine, that the Members of the Eſtabliſhments, at whoſe inſtance it was undertook, for the ſake of thoſe Eſtabliſhments, could intend any ſuch Revolution, as was Inconſiſtent with any part of what they were in Pain for; it was the Adminiſtration, not the Conſtitution, that wanted to be alter'd, and puſh'd back into its Right Place whence it had ſwerved, to ſtrengthen and ſettle our Old Monarchy, and Civil Government, and fix it whence it was removed, not to make us a New one, was the Work deſign'd; a Deliverer, not a Mender, or new Founder of Churches, and Governments, he takes to have been lookt after; the Nation was ſenſible of the Bleſſings of each Conſtitution, and wanted to have them preſerved, not thrown up, becauſe they ſaw them tottering, they cryed out for Help to keep them ſtanding, and prevent their threatned Ruin; to ſecure them, and not have them overthrown, or new ones put up in their ſteads; for this was doing themſelves the thing they ſo much Dreaded. And to change only what was Innovated, to re-add what was withdrawn, to confirm what was ſhaken and weakned in our Conſtitutions, he apprehends to have been the genuine Effects of the Revolution; without fundamentally altering the Monar-

chy,

chy, or Church, or our Thoughts of their Nature and Original; and he does not think it any way Injurious to the Revolution, or preſent Eſtabliſhments upon it, to look on them, not as new things, or ſtanding on new Principles, but as the old ones reſtored and better ſecured to us for the time to come, and thinks it rather Opprobrious to the Revolution, to ſuppoſe it to have deſtroy'd any of that, which 'tis its Glory to have preſerved; or to have ſubverted any of thoſe Principles, or Doctrines, to the right of the free Enjoyment and Profeſſion of which it owes it ſelf. For his own part, he knows no better, then to walk ſtill in the Ways of his Fathers before the Revolution, to think, believe, and act in Religion, and Civils, as they did; which he thinks was very well, knows no harm in taking *England*, in Church and St to ſtand much as it did a Hundred Years ago; to be juſt it would have been, had King *James* never been King, or his Reign expunged; and would not willingly be undeceived as to farther Alteration by the Revolution, than this, That the Monarchy is better Guarded, and the Church better Secured.

23. And he knows no need at all there is, of talking of the Revolution, as of a New World, in which, we are to believe, and act, upon contrary Terms and Doctrines, in Church and State, to thoſe before it; as if the Revolution were turning the Nation thrice round Blindfold, till we knew not what ground we ſtood upon; or which way our Faces ſtood, or were a going; and it moves his Indignation to hear and read of Revolution Principles, Revolution Doctrines, a Revolution Temper, Spirit, Behaviour, *&c.* as if there were ſome new ſet of Principles juſt Coin'd for the Revolution's Service, or as if Heaven had put forth ſome late Edition of Truths, to go along with that happy Providence, and to paſs currant with us, purely on the occaſion, only to leſſen its own ſhare in the Work, by throwing it wholly on Natural Principle, without its Finger extraordinarily concern'd. This affected Cant he takes either to be Impertinent, or worſe; he took it at firſt to be only the haſty Effluviums of a Quotidian Pen, of a withered Reputation, where he firſt, as he remembers, obſerved it; but finds

finds it ſince, a faſhionable Mode of Speech, obtaining, and run into by thoſe, whoſe Characters he has that regard to, to think they do not take up Phraſes of groundleſs Affectation, but uſe the Language, as the conſequence of ſome Scheme of things, agreeable to it, drawn up and approved by them; which Scheme, according to the import of the Language, and what he can otherwiſe Collect, is according to the following Specimen, which from his hearty and ſincere Affection to the Government, and Revolution, he enters his Proteſt againſt, as falſe and prepoſterouſly ſcandalous to it.

24. *Firſt*, They make the Revolution ſuch a topſy-turvy turn of the Nation upſide down, that all things are to be taken as ſtanding the quite contrary way, to what they did before; ſuch a great Mutation in Civils, and Religion, as the Deluge was to the World in Naturals, or rather a new Creation, that ſince it has happen'd, we are to look on Old *England* as no more, but conſider it as a new World, ſtarted up, and our ſelves in it a New People, walking in it, as Children fancy the Antipodes, with our Heads downward, and are to think directly backward to all that we thought before, ſuppoſing the Heels of every thing to be where the Head ſtood before the change; as if inverting and ſaying every thing backward, (Prayers excepted) were the true Key, to let us into the Nature of the Revolution, and the ſure rule to walk in it by.

25. Thus to inſtance in ſome particular Points of this New Doctrine, whereas in Old *England*, whilſt that Name laſted, the Natives thought themſelves ranged in Civil Life, according to this Order following, and their Laws, and even ſolemn Forms of Prayer by running in it, inculcated it as Sacred on Mens Minds.

1. The *King* or *Queen*.
2. The *Nobility*.
3. At leaſt the *Clergy*.
4. The *Gentry*.
5. The *Common People*.

According

According to theſe Modiſh Revolutioniſts, we are now to reckon theſe Eſtates, to ſtand the quite contrary way, that is thus.

1. The *Common People*, Higheſt and Loweſt, or Supreme.

2. *Superior* to, or next Higheſt under them the *Gentry*.

3. *Prieſts*—— none, but the Scheme in this is yet unfiniſht.

4. Juſt beneath the *Gentry*'s Heads the *Nobility*, *Barons*, *Earls*, and *Dukes*, &c. *ordine retrogrado*.

5. At the loweſt top of all, higheſt and undermoſt, next immediately to, or fartheſt from God, the Peoples humble Sovereign, their exalted Creature, and *durante beneplacito* Miniſter, the QUEEN.

And to the Confuſion of all Antirevolutional Mathematicks, it muſt be taken as demonſtrated that Government, is originally center'd in the circumferential Point the People, infinitely diviſible, from whence by innumerable Lines it diſperſes it ſelf into the Unity of ſingle Magiſtratick Power.

Thus again Treaſon, that before was only ſuppoſed to be of the Subject againſt the Chief Magiſtrate, is found the other way, to be of the Prince againſt the Subject, and Rebellion, ſuppoſed to have been well underſtood, thro' much Experience, is found to be nothing at all; or if any thing, a Riſing up of the Prince and People againſt themſelves.

In the Anterevolutional Period, the Subjects uſed to take an Oath of Supremacy to the Prince, a miſtake indeed not yet Practically Reform'd, but ſeveral of the Prime Miniſters of the Mob, have found and declared the Right in them, and what's Sauce for a Gooſe being, *&c.* 'tis not to be doubted, but Majeſty in its turn, may have it put upon it, to take its own Oath of Supremacy to the Subject, this as a Taſte in Civils.

26. In

26. In Religion, all things are represented to us, as no less Spick and Spang New; since we are to have Revolution Principles, which will require a Revolution Catechism, wherein of course we must have Revolution Creeds, and Revolution Commandments, Revolution Articles of Religion, which Amounts to Revolution Christianity, as if a New Dispensation had Commenced, wherein, if we have not Revolution Gospels, yet the old ones, tho' not writ much in *Hebrew*, must be Read and Expounded the backward way, and all Anti-Revolutional Expositions are to be thrown aside as Heterodox; and St. *Paul*, being no *Jacobite*, must have his old sturdy Rules, put under Modern Regulation, to turn them a New way, that Seventeen Hundred Years Inclination to the contrary, has made them but awkwardly Flexible to.

27. The Authors of this, he thinks, no very Advantageous Draught of the Happy turn of Providence the Revolution, are not so Injurious to it, in putting it in this unacceptable Form, as in Exposing and Publickly putting up the Piece, and imposing this Maulkin of their Fancies upon the Nation, for the Mother of the present Government done to the Life, whose grossest Features they stand by, as so just, that no Man must be allow'd to Embrace it, under any other shape, then they set forth; they have hung out the Piece done by Favourite Hands, and made a Party to Cry it up, and every Man else down to that they cannot force to Subscribe to the Performance, and own that 'tis both like, and that they like it; this Arbitrary obtruding the Revolution with their ill favour'd Vizard on its better Face on Innocent Men, (as if by its Command and Authority) is enough to Baulk, even the good Inclinations of its truest Lovers, as it would his, were he not sensible, it has both more Genuine, and more Honest, and Honourable Colours, to appear in to show it drest in, which is what he has proposed, by considering its Vindications. *First*, In its beginnings the Opposition made to King *James*. *Secondly*, In its progress and completion; the *1st* under the Title of *The Forced Push*: The *2nd* under that

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CHAP. II.

The Forced PUSH.

1. NEceſſity has no Law, and the ſevereſt Judges of Humane Actions allow a great deal to Diſtreſs, and make abatements of Guilt from the violence and natural inſuperableneſs of Temptations; now thoſe that moſt condemn the Revolution, muſt own it to have been the Daughter of Extremity, the laſt *Forced Puſh*, which reduced to the utmoſt. The Nation had only to all Humane Appearance left to make for its Proteſtant Life, Liberties, and all its Civil Rights; and he thinks, its Circumſtances in that *Criſis*, very well reſembled thoſe of Perſons on the Rack, who under the ſtretch of preſent Torment, ſometimes deny thoſe very Truths, that brought them to them, and which as faſt as Pains abate, and Principle regains its ground over Frailty, they ſtand too again, and be ready, may be, to chooſe the dreaded Torture the ſecond time, rather than renounce; where Nature may yet again prove falſe perhaps, and Infirmity triumph over Reſolution; as in ſuch a caſe, no fair Conſiderer of humane Nature, would upbraid the guilt of a momentary Defection from Principle, extenuated by the violence of ſuch an uncommon Tryal, and eſpecially if expiated by ſo ſpeedy a Reſumption, ſo ſuppoſing the caſe parallel, and that the Subjects of *England*, (thoſe he means of the Eſtabliſht Church) whilſt exquiſitely expoſed by the ſevere Agonies of the laſt Apprehenſions, did indeed, (as ſome would have it) for a time give way, from ſome part of a Principle, which they were known to profeſs, he thinks the Circumſtances make them a juſt Apology for the Failure, tho' confeſt, as to Humane Judgment; and that their being wrought up to ſuch a ſuppoſed Lapſe, by the pangs of Im-

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pending Diſſolution, amounts to no conſiderable Reproach; nor has leſſen'd the Churches Character, as to Honour or Favour with God, or Impartial Men; eſpecially if ſhe is lookt on, as not perſiſting in that Act of Defection, the Cauſes that extorted it, being removed, but re-adhering, as before the fatal Difficulty occurred, to what (if ſhe did do it) ſhe ſwerved from.

2. But *Firſt*, He thinks that Point may juſtly be diſputed with her Enemies charging her, and the Oppoſition made to King *James*, may be denyed to have been any Breach at all of the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non Reſiſtance*; which Doctrine ſet forth by Authority, was thus expreſt, *That it is not Lawful upon any pretence whatſoever to take up Arms againſt the King*; which taking up Arms againſt the King on any pretence whatſoever, thus declared by the Church of *England* Unlawful, and to be renounced by Order of Law, 'tis certain can only deſign; *Firſt*, A Diſloyal and Rebellious Reſiſtance, and Oppoſition. *Secondly*, It muſt deſign ſuch a Reſiſtance, as is inconſiſtent with their Duty and Oath of Allegiance, and not ſuch, as the neglect of involves them in the guilt of Perjury, by that Oath, and is a Breach of it.

3. *Firſt*, 'Tis certain that the Reſiſtance declared Unlawful by the Church of *England*, can only deſign a diſloyal, rebellious, and ill-intended Reſiſtance; *Paſſive Obedience* muſt not deſtroy or interfere with Active, or be inconſiſtent with Duty. No Man therefore ever thought it a Breach of the Duty of *Paſſive Obedience*, and *Non Reſiſtance*, to bind the King in Fits, to hold him in Convulſions, to ſtop him Walking in his Sleep, from running out of a Window, or going deliriouſly to Miſchief himſelf, or others; none ever thought it a breach of *Non Reſiſtance* to Reſcue him out of the hands of Forreigners, profeſt Enemies of his Kingdom, that were running away with him, and had ſtolen him from his Subjects in Diſguiſe, and endeavouring to fetch him back again, no other departure from the Doctrine of *Non Reſiſtance*, he thinks was in the firſt Oppoſition made to King *James*, which had none of the marks of Diſloyal Oppoſition or Rebellion in it; which appears, *1ſt*, from the Characters of the

the Perſons concern'd; 2*ndly*, from their Intention and Deſign, diſcovering it ſelf, 1*ſt*, in their Behaviour as to means uſed; 2*ndly*, as to Ends attain'd, and Advantages made and taken.

4. *Firſt*, All Reſiſtance not being deſign'd Unlawful by the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, but Diſloyal and Rebellious Reſiſtance only, the beſt Rules of diſcerning ſuch Diſloyal Reſiſtance from what is otherwiſe, he conceives to be. *Firſt*, The Characters of the Parties reſiſting, which in this caſe clearly ſhew the Reſiſtance made to King *James*, not to have been of the culpable kind, againſt the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience*. For who were they that Reſiſted? Perſons of Rebellious Principles, of Republican Diſpoſitions, any of the reſtleſs or turbulent brood of Phanatical Bigots, or ſuch whom Inherited Prejudices had entail'd Diſaffection to the regal Family upon, from the late times, or whom perſonal Grudges againſt him had given reaſon to ſuſpect of Malignancy? No, I trow not; but the Members of that Church, whoſe then Principle and Profeſſion was rather Loyalty to a Fault, if poſſible; ſuch, whoſe Profeſſion was not only *Paſſive Obedience*, but to whom the Preſervation of that Doctrine, or of Loyalty in its greateſt Height and Purity, was amongſt the Cauſes of Oppoſition, *viz.* of that Law, that declared *Reſiſtance* on no pretence Lawful, of that Church that profeſt *Paſſive Obedience*, that they might not be Forced into that Religion, that Patronizes King depoſing Doctrines, and Rebellion; add to this, that they were not only Perſons of undoubted Loyal Principles, but his neareſt Relations, his beſt Friends, that had even expoſed themſelves by being Inſtrumental in bringing him to his Throne, together with thoſe, that had thrown up their Caps higheſt, and made themſelves hoarſeſt, with Huzzaing at his Coronation; a great many of which, even after he had thrown himſelf in Pet from his Throne, or thro' Exagitations of being evilly Conſcious, and left it Vacant; yet out of Affection, or miſtaken Principle or ſenſe of former Obligation, ſtuck too, and ſtill (ſuch as are alive) ſtick to the Shadow of his fairly Loſt and Forfeited Title; none of which he ever yet

heard repented of being engaged in putting a ſtop by Oppoſition to his Proceedings, however they diſagreed to the farther Conſequences; or thought that firſt Oppoſition, an Act of unlawful Reſiſtance, or that they had ſinfully flinched from their Principle of *Paſſive Obedience*, by joyning his other Friends in the deſign of ſtopping him in that unlawful Career, which the Philtres of the Whore of *Babylon* Jeſuitically prepared, had bewitched him to drive on in her Favour. He never underſtood that Arch-Biſhop *Sancroft*, or any other of the Non-complyers, that were privy and conſenting to the firſt Oppoſition, took it for a Violation of the niceſt part of the Churches Doctrine of Loyalty, and there needs no other Proof, that the firſt Oppoſition to King *James* was no contradiction to the Doctrine of *Non Reſiſtance*, than that Jacobites themſelves clear it from ſo being, and thought themſelves ſo far innocently Engaged. Beſides, the *Reſiſtance* of ſuch Perſons ought certainly to be preſumed that of the Beſt ſort, unleſs open Declaration, or undeniable Conſequences of Behaviour, by Means uſed, or Advantages made, prove it otherwiſe intended; but thoſe ſtill in this Caſe bear all the contrary Notes of Innocent, and Dutiful Oppoſition. Rebellious Oppoſitions, with whatever Specious Pretences varniſht over at firſt a while, neceſſarily betray themſelves in the progreſs of Behaviour, and Conſequences contrary to thoſe of the Oppoſers of King *James*; rebellious Reſiſtance from diſloyal Principle, when thorow Succeſs has made it time to lay aſide Diſguiſes, ſhows it ſelf, to have aim'd either at the Life of the Oppoſed, the Rights of his Prerogative defeating his Poſterity, or the ſubverſion of the Lawful Eſtabliſhment, and in the upſhot, fails not when 'tis in its Power, to add to its ſelf from the Spoils of Sovereignty, and its Fellow Subjects, and Deſolation of its Country; but nothing either of this, or the other known Properties of Rebellion, appear'd in this Tranſaction, but the contrary, to either change of Form of Government, or ſubverſion of Law, or alteration of Religion, or innovation in any of theſe, or Injury to the Crown or Royal Line, was ſought for. The Crown, that King *James* threw up as it were

were upon their Hands, they with all imaginable ſpeed clear'd their Hands of, and as far from deſigning Wrong to its Owners, put upon that Head they apprehended it next deſcending rightfully to, without one Jewel took thence, or converted to their own Uſe, but with Faithfulneſs and Integrity, without other advantage made to themſelves, than it and themſelves better ſecured from falling into wrong Hands. Is this like Rebellion without any of its Eſſentials? Or theſe Rebels without any part of the Character?

5. He thinks it therefore a very unjuſt Compariſon, between the Rebellion againſt King *Charles* the Firſt, and the Reſiſtance occaſioning the Revolution; the Temper of whoſe Heroes, are as different from that of thoſe Blood-hounds, as was his, that betray'd the beſt Maſter, from his, that could wiſh himſelf accurſed for his Countrymen; and the nature of their Reſiſtance as different as that of thoſe, that ſaid, *thou ſhalt go no more out with us to Battle*, from that of theirs, that ſaid, *we will not have this Man to Reign over us.*

6. *Secondly*, The Reſiſtance declared unlawful by the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, and Eſtabliſht by Law, muſt deſign ſuch Reſiſtance only as was inconſiſtent with the Oath of Allegiance; and *Paſſive Obedience* cannot be ſuch, as that Oath obliges to the contradiction of, but muſt be ſo underſtood as not to involve the Subject in the guilt of Perjury by vertue of that Oath. Which granted, he conceives the Reſiſtance made to King *James*, could be no violation of the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience*. The Form of the Oath of Allegiance (3 *Jac.* I.) is, *That a Man will bear Faith and true Allegiance to His Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, and Him, and Them, will Defend to the uttermoſt of his Power.* Again, as 'tis included in the Oath of Supremacy, 'tis, *That a Man will bear Faith and true Allegiance to His or Her Majeſty, his lawful Heirs and Succeſſors.* The Duty of Allegiance and Loyalty has here manifeſtly a double Object by the Law, relates not only to the preſent Poſſeſſor of the Crown, but to his Lawful Heirs and Succeſſors, in conjunction with him, and the Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance*, being to be underſtood conſiſtently with theſe Oaths, which were the Churches Eſtabliſht definition of true Loyalty, can

ſignify Obedience, no farther *Active* or *Paſſive* towards the preſent Poſſeſſor of the Crown, than is conſiſtent with the ſafety of its deſcent to the Lawful Heir and Succeſſor; which the Subject was put under by the ſame Sacred Tyes of his Oath of Allegiance, of actually maintaining, at the ſame time, as of obeying the preſent Soveraign: and was no leſs diſloyally Perjured by that Oath, by ſuch *Paſſive Obedience*, as yielded to the defeating the Lawful Succeſſor, tho' by the King himſelf, than if in his Favour by premature addiction, he ſhould wrongfully have withdrawn his Lawful Obedience from him. True Loyalty according to the Oath obliging to oppoſe and withſtand all Attempts, tho' of the King himſelf in Wrong to the Lawful Succeſſion, as much as to Obey him *Actively* or *Paſſively* in all other things; for the meaning of the Oath, he takes to be not only this, you ſhall be Faithful to the King now, and to his Succeſſors hereafter when they ſhall come to Reign, maintain him now and them then, but you ſhall perform all Acts of Obedience to him, ſo far as ſhall be without Prejudice to them, you ſhall do your beſt to preſerve the Crown intire to them that you think it next belongs to, againſt all Pretenders whatſoever, tho' impoſed by the King himſelf, not excepted, whom you ſhall Swear in this caſe as much to contradict, as elſewhere not to do it; and the Reſiſtance of King *James* being in defenſe of a true Heir, whom he was putting by, againſt a ſpurious ſet up; at leaſt of an unqueſtion'd one, and univerſally agreed to, againſt as univerſally a ſuſpected and disbelieved, was ſo far from being a breach of the Duty of *Paſſive Obedience*, that it was an act of ſtrict Loyalty, purſuant to *Paſſive Obedience*, ſo underſtood, as not to involve the Kingdom in unavoidable Perjury by their Oath of Allegiance. In a Monarchy as ours is, Legally not Arbitrarily Succeſſive, 'tis neceſſary it ſhould be thus, as well to ſecure the Form of Government it ſelf, by a preventive care, againſt Impoſition, and Alteration, and laying in due time proſpective Obligations, and tempering preſent Duty with the care of Succeſſion, as becauſe the Crown being as a divinely entail'd Eſtate, in which the preſent Poſſeſſor is but Tenant for Life, the Reverſioner has, before he comes to its actual Enjoyment, ſuch a preſent Right in being,

as

as makes him the proper Object of Duty and Juſtice, as well as the regnant Soveraign himſelf; and makes *Paſſive Obedience* in his wrong, actual Injuſtice, if not legal Treaſon in the Subject; and entitles him to all the Rights of its Defence; and *Paſſive Obedience* ſeems to be narrower under a Succeſſive, than Elective Monarchy, where, the indefinite Succeſſion creates no ſuch Limitation, and is leſs Abſolute than what is due to the Supreme Power under any other Form. If the Form of ſucceſſional Monarchical Government be by divine Inſtitution, and the irreſiſtibility of the Supreme by divine Command, 'tis plain that the Command being comprehended in the Inſtitution of the ſubordinate Duty, to be practiced conſiſtently with the ſafety of the Inſtitution it ſelf.

7. But ſuppoſing the worſt, (which he thinks need not be ſuppoſed) that Principle was ſtrein'd too far by the Oppoſition that produced the Revolution, he thinks, that thoſe that drove the Nation to it, have the greater Sin, and have, beſide what they ſuffer'd, what guilt there was chiefly lying at their Door, and that Extremity will every way better bear it, than making a Vertue of the Neceſſity, by doubtful Vindication. If a Man have by a Lie, or indirect Act, ſaved, together with his Life, all that is near and dear to him in the World, is not ingenuous Confeſſion much better, then to write a Book to prove Lying Lawful? And accordingly reſolve to Lye all his life afterwards? And as no one can be ſo Fooliſh, as to think a Man that had ſo deliver'd himſelf, obliged to renew the Tragical Scene, by ſending again for the Cut Throats, to hold again the Inſtruments of Execution to his Throat, to recall in that poſture his ill-ſpoke Word; ſo is he far from apprehending any need there is, or agreeing that ſuch a receſſion from Principle, ſuppoſed and acknowledged, or the Nations re-advowing it again, implyes in it any Obligation to put themſelves in the ſame deplorable Circumſtances from which they have, however unlawfully, freed themſelves, or preſumptuouſly throw themſelves into the ſame Temptation, wherein Nature betray'd Principle, not unlikely to act over the ſame Weak part again. For,

8. Tho' it is not Lawful to do Evil that Good may come of it, yet the Evil being done, never again to be undone, and the Good eventually come of it, the Rule turns it ſelf on the other ſide, and the Good that it was againſt procuring before, it now forbids for the ſame reaſon to be thrown up again, for to part with a Good, if not of Nature or Fortune, but Moral and Spiritual, is to do an Evil, and to break the Rule back again, more culpably than at firſt. And tho' the Nation's Caſe, were ſuppoſed that of a Poſſeſſor *mala fide*, of the conſequent Happineſſes of the Revolution, yet it can't be bound to Reſtitution, as any part of Penitence, for no Man can think, that tho' the Nation did indeed Wrong King *James*, yet ſince God's Providence has turn'd the Nation's Sin to his Glory, and made it the Foundation of its future and preſent Happineſs, by the preſervation of Truth, and Faith, of his Religion, and the eſſentials to Salvation amongſt us, but that the Conſervation of theſe, is become a Duty of more importance, than repairing the Wrong, were it real; or that the Naughtineſs of the means, makes the enjoyment of the Bleſſings ſprung from them, unlawful to be acquieſced in; or that any ſuch reparation of the pretended Wrong can be a Duty, that more than implies in it a Reſignation of them, and an Introduction of their Contraries. If the Nation did Sin, and out of that ſin God has eventually brought forth a body of Eſtabliſht Happineſs, muſt the good work of Providence be undone to Poſterity, becauſe the fault of ſome of their Fathers gave Heaven the occaſion, the vigorous Preſervation, and thankful Enjoyment of the Good, is the beſt attonement for the Evil, in things not falling under the Law of Reſtitution. As when perſonal Redreſs muſt prove a national Calamity, and actual Reſtitution, were it poſſible, can't be made without much greater Evils, where inſuperable Impediments, moral, natural, and political, are in the way, the Duty of Reſtitution ceaſes; which yet he conceives the Community to have ſtrictly made, having detain'd nothing belonging to the Crown in their hands, but what was put immediately into the hands of thoſe, to whom they judged it next to appertain;

pertain; ſhowing integrity of Intention, whatever obliquity their might be in the Act.

9. And *Laſtly*, Allowing all the Guilt hypothetically confeſt, which the Enemies of the Revolution think it ſo conſiderable a point gain'd to have the means that produced it ſtand Blackned withal, yet he does not apprehend, how this Reflection on its accidental Cauſe, ſhould taint, or affect the preſent Conſtitution, ſo as to make it unlawful to be complyed withal, whoſe Juſtification does not depend on the rightfulneſs of the firſt Oppoſition as its Foundation, but on the Abdication, that has no neceſſary Connexion at all with that Oppoſition. Or why Her Majeſty's Title and Right to the Crown, ſhould ſtand or fall by the Subjects Behaviour to King *James*; whoſe Oppoſition, whether it was Right or Wrong, makes her Title neither Better nor Worſe, ſince ſhe does not claim from it. And whether they, to whoſe Oppoſition of King *James* the Nation is Indebted for quitting the Crown, did what they ought, or what they ought not, ſhe is either way, no leſs rightfully QUEEN; her Title being right of Inheritance fairly adjudged, which, not the ſuppoſed invalidity of the Abdication it ſelf, can invalidate, as under the next Head he thinks will appear.

CHAP. III.

The ABDICATION.

1. THE beginning of the Revolution in the Oppoſition to King *James*, being thus clear from the violation of the Eſtabliſht Doctrine of *Non Reſiſtance*, or if it were not the re-adhering to that Doctrine privately, or publickly, being neither diſhonourable nor any way injurious, either to Her Majeſty's Title, or the Eſtabliſhment, which that Oppoſition, from whatever Principle made, does not affect the Juſtice of, he proceeds now to the farther progreſs and completion of the Revolution, by what that Oppoſition accidentally produced, *viz.* the Abdication, which became

became the Foundation of the Nation's future proceeding, and is its publickly declared and eſtabliſht Vindication of itſelf, for quitting their Allegiance to King *James*, and transferring it to thoſe that Succeeded him, on which depended the Rightfulneſs of Queen *Mary* and King *William*'s Title during his life time; in order to ſee, how far this part of the Revolution is built on the Ruins of *Paſſive Obedience*, or whether that Doctrine is inconſiſtent with, or any way weakens the Juſtice, and defenſe of the Abdication;

2. Accordingly with all juſt Submiſſion, he offers the following Illuſtration of the Argument of Abdication, and his Country's Vindication by it, the force and ſtrength of which Argument of Abdication, and conſequently the Juſtice of the whole Revolution, he takes to ariſe from and depend upon the truth of theſe two Propoſitions.

Firſt, That Subjects have a natural Right to judge and diſtinguiſh for themſelves who are their True and Lawful Soveraigns.

Secondly, That this Right was fairly and duly exerciſed with reſpect to King *James*.

3. *Firſt*, Subjects have a Right to judge and diſtinguiſh for themſelves who are their True and Lawful Soveraigns.

This he thinks to be an undeniable and ſelf-evident Principle, that if Men are to obey one Perſon only and not another, they muſt have a right to Judge which that Perſon is, for who elſe ſhould do it? Either ſome Perſons without the Community muſt do this, or the King himſelf, or the Members of the Community; 1*ſt*, no other Community or Perſons without the Body can do it, for that is inconſiſtent with a Kingdom's independency, leaving their Crown to Foreign diſpoſal.

4. And *Secondly*, certainly neither our Kings nor any others (as no Man ought) are judges of their own Right in their own Cauſe, farther than as to private Conſcience to themſelves, but not as to any Obligation to the Subjects, nor are Judges either of their Perſons, that they are the Perſons that they paſs for, or the Iſſue of ſuch Parents, but muſt take themſelves

themſelves upon the ſame truſt, that the generality of Subjects do them from others; nor of their natural Rights and Titles, that being the Iſſue of ſuch Perſons, they ought to Reign before other Competitors, or of their Legal ones, by coming within thoſe Conditions, which either the Law of Nature makes neceſſary, or the Conſent of Parties have made part of the Evidence to attend their natural Rights, and to ſhow them Genuine.

'Tis not enough for a King to declare himſelf ſo, as the Bully Pope once did, that whipt on the Triple Crown, and ſaid I am Pope, or if he did, Subjects are not bound to take his word for it, for then we ſhould not want for Kings and Queens.

Nor has any King any more Right to declare his natural Heir or Succeſſor, which when done, is but ſtill a Recommendation to the Judgments of Subjects to gain their conviction, and cannot be definitive, till either after-aſſent has made it ſo, or Pre-contract, or Arbitrary and Irreſiſtible Force aw'd them into acquieſcence.

5. And *Thirdly*, none but Subjects themſelves, every one for himſelf muſt determine which is that Perſon therefore, whom the Laws whether of God or Nature have made it his Duty to Obey, all other Mens Judgments, Opinions, Declarations, and Reſolutions whatſoever, bear but the nature of Evidence to a Man in the Caſe, for it muſt ſtill be from an Act of Judgment form'd on Conviction in himſelf, that muſt confirm him a Subject, and another his Soveraign. For Men muſt Obey thoſe that they and not others for them think to be truly their Soveraigns, and pay the Duty of Obedience to them whoſe due they believe in Conſcience that it is, from which belief there can lye no Appeal.

Unleſs this were ſo there could be no difference between Loyalty and Rebellion, for how ſhould a Man be Loyal, that is true to his Right Prince, unleſs he firſt has a Right to Judge which is He? Or how ſhould Men maintain the Succeſſion without a Right of Determining which is the Succeſſor? Every Man's Conſcience is the Rule in this as other Duties, a Man cannot be obliged to pay that Duty to one which he thinks another's due.

6. Every

6. Every Man therefore being Judge of his own Duty, becomes alſo neceſſarily Judge of his Soveraign's Title, becauſe King and Subject being Relatives, one cannot Judge of the one, without doing the like alſo of the other, he that has a Right to make himſelf a Subject, muſt have one to make another a King, and being Judge of his own Duty, in effect and conſequence determines whoſe Right it is to Reign.

7. This Right of the Community and all and every one of its Members, to Judge for themſelves who is their Head, is not a Right of Superiority, as arguing any derivation of Government from them originally, but follows the Divine Right of Government already inſtituted, and Heads already appointed and ſuppoſed.

It ariſes not from any Contract Original or other, ſince without Contract they muſt enjoy it, and no Contract can alienate it.

'Tis not an Act of Conveyance of any Power, but proceeds from acknowledgment of it already ſomewhere Seated.

'Tis not a Right of Election or Deſignation of Perſons to Rule but of fixing and barely diſcerning them ſo deſign'd and Elected, grounded on natural Neceſſity as there is no other way to become Subjects, but by determining to whom they are ſo, according to the Law of Nature in all Relatives, in which each part of the relation muſt be allow'd a Right of diſtinguiſhing the other before the mutual obligation to Duty between them can commence, the acknowledgment of which, from pre-ſuppoſed Conviction, gives a beginning to Duty, on that ſide 'tis made.

8. It no more makes the Kingdom Elective than a Tenant's Right of diſtinguiſhing his Landlord leaves him free to pay his Rent to whom he will, no more, than in other natural Relatives, the inferior part of the Relations Right to know and be convinc'd of the other, makes Fathers, Husbands, and Maſters Elective.

9. Tho' God himſelf ſhould not only determine the Succeſſion, but *toties quoties* name the very Perſon to Reign, yet unleſs he miraculouſly ſubjected both the Nomination and Perſon named to every Man's preſent ſenſes, the Right of determining and diſtinguiſhing both the one and the other would remain to them.

10. To

10. To deny Men this Right, is denying them the uſe of their Senſes, and exerciſe of their Reaſon, 'tis to Unchriſtian, to Unman, indeed to Unbeaſt them the wrong way, for Beaſts themſelves pretend to ſo much of this Right, that they do not perform the Offices of Subjection, which is their Loyalty, without a ſenſe of diſtinction, nor wholly ſurrender themſelves to Forreign or Arbitrary Direction, but according to their apprehenſions of the Objects Right to it, are Dutiful or Refractory.

11. Jacobites and whoever diſſent from the Conſtitution go upon this Principle, and no leſs try King *James*'s Right at their own Bar, than thoſe they Condemn for diſowning him, and by their own Plea they juſtify the Nation, tho' miſtaken, tho' their Plea cannot do themſelves the ſame Service.

12. Thus far therefore all muſt agree that Subjects have a Right of Judging who is their true and rightful Soveraign, and all the diſpute is therefore about the mode of exerciſing this Right, upon which both the Right of Soveraigns, and the Peace, Order, and Happineſs of the Community depends, and 'tis here the miſtake lyes, that is ſo fatal. For,

13. Tho' 'tis every Members undoubted Right, and every one muſt ſo far exerciſe it as to be his own Act, yet in Communities of the firſt magnitude, of ſuch vaſt ſize, as Kingdoms and Empires, 'tis impoſſible it ſhould be exerciſed by every one, in the natural Simplicity of the Act, without the utmoſt Inconveniences; for who ſees not, what the exerciſe of this Right, by an infinite variety of incompetent Judges, muſt come too? And what unavoidable Calamities muſt attend an Empire, the Fundamental of whoſe Peace is built on ſuch a piece of diſtractions. Since a Kingdom's Peace ariſes from being United under one Head, which Unity can only ariſe from an uniform Judgment of the Members, and agreement in their determination about that Head, the care of every Conſtitution ought to be, to reconcile the exerciſe of this Right of the Members, with the ends of Government, as well by aſcertaining the Evidence upon which the Judgment is to be form'd, as the Judgment upon it, by ſuch an expedient, as leaving it every Man's proper Act, may

bring

bring it to a happy Iſſue, which 'tis the mutual Intereſt both of the Head, and Body, to have, both Eſtabliſht, and well known and inculcated; the want, or at leaſt the ignorance of which Expedient, he conceives to have occaſion'd innumerable Evils, to have been that, which cheefly has both perplext and adulterated Monarchical Lines of Succeſſion, and Monarchical Government it ſelf, by running it firſt, into Elective, from which a random Judgment perſonally exerciſed by all the Members, concerning a Perſon, and Title, they know nothing of, little differing, eaſily depraved it ſelf into it; and from thence, by a no leſs eaſy and almoſt natural degeneracy down to Republicaniſm; from an Elective Kingdom to which, 'tis but one natural ſtep, for what more natural, then for Men, left free to chooſe the Subject of Dominion, to chooſe themſelves. The great advantage of Succeſſional Monarchy, above the other forms of Government, is loſt, which is, its having a fixt and determin'd Head, if the exerciſe of the Members Right of diſtinguiſhing of him, expoſe the Community, to the ſame danger of Diviſion and Diſtraction of knowing which is He, as if no ſuch determination were made.

14. Some Political Expedient is therefore abſolutely neceſſary, to reduce this natural inſeperable Right of every Subject, judging who is his Soveraign, to be practicable with tolerable convenience, ſo he knows no method ſo capable of having it done by, as Repreſentation, where 'tis the Members happineſs to have their Conſtitution allow it, which is the next thing to every ones exerciſing it in their proper Perſons.

15. And he thinks there is no doubt to be made, but 'tis amongſt thoſe things in our Conſtitution, which the Repreſentatives are to do for the Members, whoſe Determination concerning the Rights either of the preſent Poſſeſſor of the Crown, or the Succeſſion he looks on as the Act of every Man and his Right of Judgment exerciſed, and executed for him and by him, in his Name and by his Conſent.

16. The end of repreſentation, being to do all ſuch things for the Body, which every Member having a Right to do for themſelves, yet perſonally cannot, muſt have the exerciſe of this Right included, which as it is of the laſt Importance,

portance, ſo is leſs than any other capable of Perſonal diſcharge.

17. He looks upon this Right of the Subjects determining their Soveraign, to be the very firſt Article of Repreſentative Truſt, which makes good all the reſt of the Conveyance, and that whatever elſe either in Legiſlation, or otherwiſe, by removing the Impediments of the derivation of the advantages of Government down to the Body, or conveying the diſcharges of Duty up to the Supreme Adminiſtrator from them, they tranſact with him, is all built upon the firſt ſuppoſed Truſt of diſtinguiſhing the Object of Application; as to whom, if there be admitted a poſſibility of Error Perſon'd in them, and a laſt reſort of Judgment beyond theirs, reſting in every one of the Members that ſend them, verily all they do becomes precarious, and every one has a right to reſcind every Law they make.

18. He takes Repreſentation to be the only Method by which the Members of his Country's Conſtitution can do any Political Act, which, being without Limitation, extends it ſelf to whatever relates to each Member in his Political Capacity, of which number of things, the determination of the Head is certainly the moſt material Point, and conſequently, whatever the Repreſentatives of all thoſe of the Community, whom being of a ſuperior Order does not Privilege perſonally to do it for themſelves, fairly determine, concerning the Rightfulneſs of the Soveraign, who is ſo, to be concluding to the Repreſented, and their own Political Judgment, as much as the Perſonal Judgment of thoſe for themſelves that have Privilege, is theirs that which whoever denies, he thinks Undermines the whole Parliamentary Truſt, and diſſolves the very Conſtitution.

19. And the Legiſlatures Enacting it to be High Treaſon therefore for any Man to deny, that the Soveraign, together with the Parliament, have Power to determine the Succeſſion, is even Modeſtly within Reaſon, ſince Subjects themſelves alone can, nay cannot help doing it, but muſt, if they do it not by Repreſentation, do it a much worſe way; which takes off that which ſeems otherwiſe an Objection, that the Subiect being thus concluded by their Repreſentatives,

preſentatives, expoſes the Royal Line to Injuſtice, themſelves to Impoſition, making the Kingdom too much like Elective, by leaving it to the Parliament, as it were to chooſe whom they pleaſe to Reign; ſince 'tis but the ſame Act, that neceſſarily muſt be done by every Man, to maintain the Succeſſion, Rightfully, more regularly perform'd; by a way, by which both the Regal Family may promiſe itſelf more Right, and the People more Peace.

20. The more Sacred the Duty of Loyalty is, the ſtricter Ties God has put Subjects under, to adhere to thoſe, to whom the Throne by the Law of God and Nature belongs, the more Conſcience is concern'd to ſee it is ſo, and pay Duty accordingly, the more are they obliged to take that way of Determination, as the moſt agreeable to the Divine Will, which from the beſt means of Information, is the likelyeſt to be the beſt direction of Practice.

21. To ſuppoſe Chriſtianity not to allow Men this Political way of exerciſing their Right of judging of the Object of their Civil Obedience, or to oblige them to Duty in contradiction to it, repreſentatively exerciſed, is to ſuppoſe the Goſpel an Enemy to Civil Society, and Chriſtians as ſuch the worſt of Subjects, as being to be made ſuch, only that way, which 'tis impoſſible they ſhould, with any convenience, and incapable of conſenting to that, which is the ſureſt Foundation of true Loyalty.

22. The moſt conſiderable Objections that ſeem to lye againſt the determination of the Soveraign this Repreſentative way in his Country, are,

Firſt, That by his Country's Conſtitution, in which all Repreſentative Acts depend on the Soveraign already Eſtabliſht, and agreed too, the exerciſe of this Right repreſentatively, comes too late, when the Work is done and over.

Secondly, That 'tis not a preſent Method, to which the Members, when there is occaſion, can have recourſe, depending on the Soveraigns, not their Pleaſure, and conſequently being ſo ill provided for, ſeems not deſign'd by the Nature of the Conſtitution.

To

To which he Anſwers, *Firſt*, that the Conſtitutional Impediments of the exerciſe of the Right Repreſentatively, is no Argument againſt the Validity of the Judgment, when notwithſtanding thoſe Impediments it is ſo exerciſed, it may be a true Method tho' hard to be come at.

Secondly, That the want of due recourſe Occaſionally to it has proceeded from Order of Nature in the Inſtitution of Government, and not any poſitive State Intendment; from deſert, and not from deſign.

23. He thinks that the want of recourſe does well ſhow indeed, that Governours are not Originally of the Communities providing for themſelves, but of Nature's Providing for them; had Governours been of the Members firſt making, Parliaments muſt of courſe have called Kings, and not King s Parliaments, and as the Peoples Acknowledgments muſt have been the Foundation of Title, and have preceded, not come after it; firſt ſuppoſed under the notion of Aſſent, and Recognition, ſo is it not eaſy to imagine, that People making their own Terms of Government, and Governours, ſhould be ſo ill Contrivers for themſelves, as to leave themſelves without ſetled means of Recourſe, to do that, which all depended upon nor provide for that, which was ſo obvious, that they could not look forward, but they muſt ſee happening, *viz.* Competition obout the Right of Soveraignty, by Eſtabliſhing means of Politically exerciſing their reſerved Right of Deciſion in caſe of diſpute.

24. But the natural Origine of Government makes this Defect eaſy to be accounted for, if we conſider that in the Infancies of Government, whilſt Societies were not much advanced beyond Families, nor Polity beyond œconomy, and ſo long as Titles were yet ſhort and clear, and Monarchies not yet much clogged with Conditions, every Man perſonally exerciſing his own Right of diſtinguiſhing his Soveraign, as Children do their Fathers, 'tis eaſy to conceive, how in the Progreſſes of Communities ſo begun, when Multiplying Poſterity, and other increaſes, had raiſed the Seminaries, into ſuch Bodies, in which all the Members could no longer as at firſt have perſonal Knowledge of, or Communication with the Head, but the generality muſt owe their Conviction of any ones Right to be ſo, to Forreign Teſtimony, and

conſequently the expedient of Repreſentation neceſſary to be made uſe of; 'tis eaſy, he thinks, to conceive, how (not aware of their being grown to a ſize wherein Nature's Proviſion for knowing their rightful Soveraign was no longer to be practiced her way, but that ſhe had left them to do it that way by others which was now moſt expedient,) they muſt Inſenſibly lye under the diſadvantage of being unprovided of Eſtabliſht Means of Recourſe to it, and as they might not Preſently ſpy the Defect, ſo they might labour under it, till fatal Occaſion taught them the danger of it, and happy Opportunity made them capable of Remedying it.

25. The doing of which by the Legiſlature, he thinks Matter worthy of Congratulation to his Country, who have removed the Impediment from the firſt Objection, by the proviſional determination of the Hereditary Succeſſional part of Right, by the Statutes of Limitation of the Crown, and declaring the Right to it for ſeveral turns forward; which ſo neceſſary a Method and Preventive of Civil Diſcord, as he wonders that it has not been always practiced, ſo he Wiſhes, that the Kingdom may never again want hereafter as often as the Authoritatively declared Succeſſion draws towards an end, and that they may have ſtill in due time, before the promulged Entail is run out, both the Lines and Perſons Legiſlatively ſetled for ſeveral turns ſtill in Store, the want of which he is perſuaded has been the occaſion of great Calamities.

26. The Impediment from the Second Objection they have took off by the encreaſe of the Right of Recourſe, by the ſetled frequency of Parliaments in general, and particularly, by their meeting of courſe upon the Grand foreſeen Emergency.

27. And his Country being thus diſpoſed and prepared to admit the proper, that is political Exerciſe of the Right of Subjects to diſtinguiſh their Soveraign as ſociable Creatures ſhould, in a Regular and judiciary way, by Repreſentatives, he Wiſhes may hereafter, when Providence gives occaſions (which he Wiſhes may be few) always practice it, only convinced of the Errour of that miſtaken Principle, that every Subject muſt judge of what, not One in Ten knows any thing of, and is bound to follow his own Wiſe Judgment only who is his Soveraign, which whilſt Loyalty makes its

Foundation

Foundation, Loyalty will breed more more Diſcord then Fact on itſelf, and good Subjects from good Conſcience do the Royal Line as much wrong and the Commonwealth more damage by conſcientious Turbulency, than bad ones, which leads him to the ſecond Thing propoſed that is.

28. *Secondly*, This Right was fairly and duly exerciſed with reſpect to King *James*.

Subjects have a neceſſary Inſeperable Right of determining who is truly their Soveraign, that Right in ſuch an Empire as the *Brittiſh* is no way practicable but politically by Repreſentatives, thoſe Repreſentatives choſen by the acknowledged Principals, and acknowledged by them accordingly exerciſed it, and adjudged the Relation between him and them as King and Subject to be ceaſed, and that that Obedience which had been due to him was become due to another, to whom in good Conſcience they ought to Transfer it during his Life as much as if he had been Naturally Dead.

29. This Right of the Subject muſt comprehend in it, the Right of Judging of the ſeveral ways, both Legal and Natural, on which the Tenure of the Crown depends.

30. Now whatever diſputes there may be about the Legal Conditions that the Crown, has for the Communties good, condeſcended to ſubject its Original Freedom to, or whatever the Stated legal Terms by Articling with the Subject it has bound up itſelf to be Temper'd withal, yet there can be no diſpute about thoſe natural Terms, that all Crowns however Arbitrary muſt be taken and held according to; he thinks no Man ought to be compelled to Reign (how much ſoever it may be his Right) againſt his will, nor longer than he will himſelf, and whatever natural Right he has to Reign, he has as natural a one not to be forced to it, and as none ought to be King without Conſent and formal tokens of Acceptance, but may foregoe his Right, ſo neither ought they to continue ſuch after Voluntary Renunciation, either by explicit and formal Act of Reſignation, by Conſent of Parties, or by Implicit and conſequential by Abdication, and tho' King *James*, could not have fail'd of Succeſs by the former method of quitting the Crown by Reſignation, by the ready Aſſent of his Subjects upon his Pleaſure ſignified, yet he made

choice of the latter Abdication, doing thoſe Acts which thoſe which the Nation has moſt reaſon to believe, and to be guided by their Authority, Corroborated by the Judgment of ſuch, who, for their known Abilities, are to be preſumed beſt to underſtand both the legal and natural Conditions of the Crown's Tenure, upon mature Examination declared to amount to, and to be a Voluntary Renunciation and could be Interpreted no leſs than an actual quitting and giving up the Crown and Government, at a juncture, when the Neceſſities as well of his Subjects as his own Affairs, made his demonſtration to the contrary moſt requiſite.

31. And as there is no doubt but what he did, fairly amounted in ſtrict and impartial Conſtruction to Abdication, ſo his Treatment of his Subjects had not been ſuch, as had put them under any obligation of Evading, or leſſening the Force of his Acts making it ſo, or ſeeking Extenuating Circumſtances in his Favour to make it otherwiſe, or not taking it in the moſt Rigorous Acceptations of Juſtice, fairly to Free themſelves from Him; if it were but Abdication in itſelf, and were ſo to them, they had all the reaſon in the World to bleſs the Occaſion given, and lay hold on't, without ſtaying to Reconcile him to it, or making Abatements of its Nature from conjectural Conſiderations with what Mind and Intention he moſt probably did what Amounted to it.

32. An Abdication once made, tho' but for a moment, and with deſign of Reſumption and Return, is Irrevocable, and the poſſeſſion of the Crown once loſt, can never again admit of Right of Recovery, without breaking the Laws of Succeſſion, and offering moſt unnatural Violence to the Conſtitution, without Injury, nay downright Diſloyalty and Rebellion againſt thoſe who Succeed, for the Succeſſion being a perpetual and uninterrupted Deſcent, admitting no vacuities but the next Succeſſor becoming immediate Poſſeſſor from the Moment of Ceſſation of his Predeceſſors Reign, admits of no retrograde moves, without inverting the whole Order of its Nature, and Abdication once letting him in, that is to come after, and giving him Poſſeſſion, looks no more backward, but extinguiſhes utterly the perſonal Right of the Abdicated, 'till ſtreams run backward and Blood deſcending upward from Son to Father, makes Inheritances take that courſe.

33. The

33. The Conſciences of the Repreſented are no ways concern'd in the merits of the Cauſe, nor are they bound by any neceſſity of Duty, ſo much as to examine into the truth of Facts, or upon ſuch Examination to act as things appear to them, but quite contrary, tho' they are not ſatisfyed in their Minds that King *James* had Right done him; nay, tho' they are ſatisfyed and convinced that he had Wrong done him, and was and ought to have continued King after he was ſuppoſed Abdicate, yet are they bound in Conſcience to act contrary to that their own Private Knowledge and Conviction, which is not their Rule to go by in the caſe. The Injuſtice (if any were done) lighting perſonally upon the Repreſentatives only, and immediate Actors, in the Convention firſt, and Parliament afterwards.

34. *Firſt*, If their were no Errour committed either in the Judgment or matter of Fact, then all is well of courſe.

35. *Secondly*, If the Repreſentatives acted but with Integrity, and did according to the beſt of their Skill and Judgments, but were miſtaken, in thinking King *James* to be no longer their King when he ought to have been ſo, and to have no right to their Obedience when he really had, they are equally blameleſs, for would any Man have them be his Subjects, they thought not to be their King, or not be His that they thought was ſo, then had they been right Rebels.

36 *Thirdly*, Tho' King *James* was neither Abdicate, nor they yet thought ſo (if ſo Barbarous a Thing can be ſuppoſed) and the Subjects both ſaw the Prevarication, and were themſelves of the ſame mind with them yet ſtill are they no leſs bound in Conſcience by the duty of Loyalty to maintain the ever-ſuppoſed falſe Determination.

37. Becauſe, it being their own Political Act, 'tis the Form of it that is every Man's Judgment, and that which Conſcience is therefore to follow, and obliged by, and not the matter or ſpecialities of the Caſe; the Equity and Iniquity of it, is not to be meaſured by the ſame Standard, as if it were his own Act naturally executed, but the Juſtice of it takes a new Object, is no longer agreeableneſs of the determination to the truth of Fact, and rectitude according to

natural equity of Proportion and obſervance of Equality with reſpect to the Matter in hand; but the Object of it is the publick Good, by general Juſtice propoſed to be done, and procured by that Method and Form; from which whatever determination proceeds, however in itſelf Erroneous or Iniquitous, yet binds to follow it, like an Erroneous Conſcience.

38. A Man is obliged to render to every other Man his due, as well as to his Prince, to all his Fellow Members of Society, as well as the Head, yet no Man thinks himſelf bound in Conſcience to back his private Convictions againſt the miſtaken or corrupt deciſions of the Law, or makes a ſcruple to pay thoſe Dues to one whoſe Title publick form confirms, tho' to his certain knowledge another's Title to them is much better, nor thinks it Sin in him to deny them to thoſe, from whom legal Verdict has adjudged them, and be inſtrumentally accerſary of putting them into their Hands, to whom private Conſcience teſtifies them not to belong. The Church and State could never concorporate, nor good Conſcience conſiſt with Political Adminiſtration, did God oblige Men to oppoſe ſpecial Juſtice to publick Form, and their private beliefs of Right and Wrong, to their own Politick ones duly exerciſed on proper Matter.

39. 'Tis a very unhappy Snare that Men in this Caſe have generally run themſelves into, to think that either the Logical or Ethical Truth of this, or any ſuch like Propoſition (that the Judgment given againſt King *James*, was right according to the truth of Things in themſelves) is neceſſary to a conſcientious complyance with the Revolution, with which they may with no leſs good Conſcience comply, tho' it neither were ſo, nor they thought it ſo, their own private Thoughts being nothing to the purpoſe of Obligation either way.

40. The Kingdom's publickly Eſtabliſht Defence of it ſelf by the Argument of Abdication, thus underſtood, he thinks eaſily and naturally gives its force to the Mind, and juſtifies the Revolution in its progreſs and completion, with the ſettlement of Limitation, without falling foul, either upon the Principles and Foundations of Monarchy, or the

Eſtabliſht

Eſtabliſht Doctrines of the Church of *England*, concerning Civil Duty, and ſolves the difficulties, that have created ſo much Offence, to thoſe that pretend the tendereſt regards to the duty of Loyalty, by going on with them upon their own Principle, it juſtifies the Revolution, ſo as to leave us in our former Principles, without leaving it to the hazard of new Hypotheſis, and tortured Texts of Scripture, to juſtify.

41. But as he takes a latitude of Apprehenſion to be a right due, not only to the Intereſts of the Revolution, and the preſent Government, but its publickly declared regards to Conſcience; and the Legiſlature, tho' they have ſetled the Concluſions, that King *James* did indeed Abdicate, and that Her Majeſty is by Succeſſion rightfully and lawfully Queen, to have left every Man free to form to himſelf the premiſes theſe Concluſions ariſe from, and agree to them his own way, without tying him up to any Principles, in order to lead him to them; to which he that by giving the Legal Aſſurances, ſhows himſelf ſincerely to Aſſent, anſwers all they require to make him a good Subject, from whatever modes of reaſoning that Aſſent ſprung; as he takes them ſo to make *Abdication* the ground of the *Revolution*'s publick Defence, as not to forbid Men, either argumentatively to Explain it for their own Satisfaction, or the Conviction of ſuch others, to whom it ſeems to have more Authority than Perſuaſion in it; nor to have declared, or ſo much as pointed (that he has obſerved) at any particular Principles in exeluſion to all others, neceſſarily pre-required, in order to Mens acknowledgment of the Rightfulneſs of the *Abdication*, or Juſtice of its Conſequences; but to have left all ways whatſoever open, that may bring Men into that acknowledgment, that are conſiſtent with the Principles of revealed Religion. Therefore he ſhould think himſelf both injurious to the Revolution, and an Offender againſt the plain intention of the Eſtabliſhment, as well as Modeſty, ſhould he take upon him to pretend that his own Notions however true they ſeem to himſelf, is the only method of publick Vindication for his Country, which he only claims (as being he hopes as inoffenſive as they are well meant) the private Benefit of

for himself; without imposing them as of necessity on others, as the only means of the Revolution's defence, and conscientious Reconcilement to it; or farther condemning any, unless those, that too dogmatically fond of their own Opinions, endeavour to Rank him, and all others amongst the disaffected to the Revolution, that will not let them be the publick Reason-Tasters for justifying it, whose Doctrines, by just Retaliation he thinks he may make as free withal, and with as good Authority, as they do with that of others; yet will no farther reflect on, than to show, that they neither are, nor ought to be so far the National, or much less only vindication of the Revolution, as they pretend, but that room is, and designedly left, for other Hypothesis; and that there is neither that natural or legal Enmity between their Contraries and the Justice of the present Establishment, that they give out.

CHAP. IV.

The Doctrine *of* RESISTANCE, *contain'd in these Two Propositions.*

First, THAT the Original of Government is from the People by Contract.

Secondly, That *Resistance* of the Supreme Powers, or Chief Magistrate is Lawful for the Subject as often as they think the Ends they instiuted it for not answered,

Ought not to be admitted for the only or national Vindication of the *Revolution.*

1. Had the Doctrine of *Resistance* contented itself with its share of private Profession, and thankful by having its Penalties took off, for being not only Tolerated, but let into the Government's Preferments, modestly enjoy'd the Liberty allow'd it, it should have heard nothing from him; but since it grows Rampant and sets up for Persecution of *Non Resistance*, and immodestly not only takes to itself the whole Glory

Glory of the Revolution, but will allow it no other Friend or Guardian but itſelf, he thinks it time to tell it its own, and the love of Truth, added to that of the Revolution, urge him to proteſt againſt its being wholly truſted to ſuch an unſafe Guardian, whoſe Patronage and Defence he thinks,

Firſt, Very Diſhonourable.
Secondly, Very Unſafe both with reſpect to what's paſt and what's to come.
Thirdly, Very Unneceſſary.

2. *Firſt*, He thinks the national vindication of the Revolution by the Doctrine of Reſiſtance to be very Diſhonourable.

Tho' it be not ſo, yet it looks too much like ſhifting of Principle to ſerve a turn, too much like making the Doctrines of our Religion wait Occaſionally upon our ſecular Intereſts. 'Tis at beſt but a Juſtification *ex poſt facto*, firſt doing the thing, and then ſhaping Profeſſion to Practice to juſtify; the Conviction came too late, as well as too ſuddenly, for an honourable National Defence; all Mankind, at leaſt all the Chriſtian Communities round, well knew that *Non-Reſiſtance* was the Doctrine of the Church of *England* Eſtabliſht by the Law over and over, to the very Minute of the Revolution, that the Pulpit frequently ſounded with it, and thoſe that are Enemies to our Reformation muſt Sneer to ſee it Quitted at ſuch a rate, and its Contraries ſo all upon the ſudden took up at ſuch a juncture; it ought to have been formally Retracted ſome time before, and its Contraries Eſtabliſht, to have made it look like fair and ingenuous Conviction; ſuch an univerſal Enlightning Turn juſt upon the Puſh, not till the very critical Minute, has a ſuſpicious and ill timed Aſpect, and in plain *Engliſh*, the Church and Kingdom's Defence by ſuch a change of known Principle, is too plainly a Refuge, thought of ſince, below the Spirit of an Honourable Man, and much unworthy *Engliſh* Generoſity and Integrity, and more ſtill unworthy of a Community breathing Honour and Empire to take up with-

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al. Tho' *Passive Obedience* were never so false, tho' the Doctrine of Resistance never so true, yet the Justification of the Nation by it, *pro hac vice*, had much better be let alone, and the Kingdom wrapping itself up in its own Integrity, and good Conscience, had better sit silently down, and say nothing in its own Vindication, then encrease the matter of Taunt to its Enemies, by so suspected and disbelieved a one; and tho' convinced of the Falsehood of *Passive Obedience*, yet had better have stay'd a little longer, and took a more happy time to declare it.

3. *Secondly*, Tho' the Doctrine of Resistance might Honourably be made use of for the Nation's Publick Defence of the Revolution, yet is it, when that is granted, still an unsafe Defence, 1*st*, unsafe both with respect to what's past, or the Case it self, 2*dly*, unsafe in its Consequences.

1*st*, 'Tis a Defence unsafe in it self, a Dangerous one; that exposes both the Lawfulness and Justice of the Revolution, with its Foundation, the present Establishment, and Her Majesty's Right and Title to great Hazards, both as to Interest at Home, and Reputation Abroad; 'tis a Defence that wants itself to be first of all defended, and not fit to put the whole Honour of an Empire, the Lawfulness of a Government, and Credit of a Church upon; which however private Persons may make use of for themselves, yet, unless Authority had led the way, they ought to be cautious of presuming how they do it, in the Publick's Name, unless the Principles of Defence had been of universally acknowledged Truth. And Mr. *Hoadly* should not only have been better assured of his Principles, that Government is from the People, and that Resistance when they think fit is Lawful for them, than 'tis possible he should be; but should have been also sure, that the World was so perswaded, at least the Majority of the Kingdom, before he adventured upon his own Head, so to clap the vast weight of Her Majesty's Crown, and his Country's Honour upon them, as to leave now no other support; as knowing that a weak Defence confirms Guilt beyond Confession, and a Heterodox Apology doubles the Crime; which 'tis to be fear'd his Principles wholly trusted to, for the

Nations

Nations Defence, muſt do, being either Firſt utterly falſe, or Secondly, however uncertain, or Thirdly, at beſt but probable.

4. *1ſt*, For himſelf he is perſuaded, and has no Reaſon to think, but much the greater part of the Members of the Eſtabliſht Church are of the ſame mind, that his Principles of Defence, *viz.* that Government is originally a Conveyance from the Governed, and Reſiſtance when they pleaſe lawful, are falſe, the Firſt contrary to Natural Reaſon, the Second to the reveal'd Will of God alſo.

5. *Firſt*, That Government is originally a Conveyance from the People he thinks monſtrous and unnatural to Conceive.

Order is more valuable than Matter, to which it bears the reſpect of Form to the Subject of its Information, of the Soul to the Body, prior to it both in time and dignity, the order of Civil Diſcipline, and Political Subjection of Men to a common Head, is the very *anima humani generis*, as Men are ſociable Creatures, from which firſt given, and ſeated in ſome known Subject Communities might originally ſpring, and about which ſo ſeated, as their Principles of Collection, Members might afterwards gather, and make encreaſe of Political Bodies by Application to its Diſpoſitions and ſo Government naturally enough grow but not *vice verſa*.

6. Bodies are naturally founded in ſome Seminal Digeſtion, to which Matter it accrues, the ſeminal form of Societies is Magiſtracy, to which the Community muſt by courſe of Nature originally be added, but not that to the other, Forms naturally attract Matter, and digeſt it, but the other way is prepoſterous; Officers, at leaſt ſuppoſed, muſt be older then the Regimental Body, and it would ſound oddly enough, to ſay the Regiment raiſed the Colonel, or that Children had got themſelves a fine Father.

7. The utmoſt Mankind can do, towards inſtituting Government and Governours for themſelves by Conſent, and conveyance of Power, if attended to, is *ex Hypotheſi*, that is by ſuppoſal of ſome ſuch Head neceſſarily and naturally to be due and belonging to them before, as they are going to pitch

pitch upon for themſelves; and their Government is in Imitation of a ſome-thing, and their Governour of a ſome-Body, which has been, and ſhould be, that they have loſt, and know no better how to make up that Loſs, then by putting up ſomething like him.

8. Government was ſo far from being made by Man, that it was not made for Man, but Man for it; it adds more to the Creation then the Natural Being of all Mankind does, which to ſuppoſe God not to have inſtituted, and poſitively infuſed into the enliven'd Maſs, is ſuppoſing him to have Created a Chaos, but to have left Matter to jump itſelf into the conſiderableſt part of Form. 'Tis Order not Matter is the ſuperior part of the Creation, and Political Order much more than Natural; and he leſs affronts the Author of Order and not Confuſion, that ſuppoſes him to have Created the beauteous diſpoſitions of Things, but not the Matter itſelf, than he that Attributes to him the Creation of the indigeſted Stuff only; and he leſs derogates from God, that ſays he did not give Mankind Being, than he that allowing him that denies his inſtituting for him Order and Digeſtion, in that way of life, that he was chiefly deſign'd for in this World; by actually inſtituting for him Civil Power and Government; and giving beginning to his Political Formation; which was to be the Face of his Workmanſhip on Earth; of more conſideration towards its Beauty and Regularity, than all the inferior Digeſtion of the Inanimate or Animal World; which as being made for Man, if he had left Man to add to himſelf, he had left him leſs, then leaving to him the better part of his own Formation as to this World, his Political Formation; which if God left undone, he left a nobler part undone, then was done, left ſo much to do, that it can hardly be truly ſaid, that God Created Mankind, but did ſome of it, and left them to finiſh the reſt.

9. To ſay that God inſtituted Civil Power and Government, whoſe very Eſſence is Form, and yet Inſtituted no Form of it, is what he cannot underſtand. To ſay he Inſtituted a general undetermin'd Diſpoſitory Power for Mankind,

kind, but put enough of it into no particular Hand to do them any Service, till they agreed by equal Club of Power towards a Government, to make up one amongſt them, he thinks a very looſe way of fitting out a Political Animal; looks as if God had been weary of his Work before it was over, or in haſte, that he could not ſtay to finiſh it, ſo leaving that which indeed was to Crown all, and to which all the reſt was to be ſubmitted, the Sociable Order of Humane Life, at Sixes and Sevens. *Moſes* ought to have told us in *Geneſis* ſomewhere, that God ſpake to Mankind to this Effect, Look ye, Gentlefolks, I have made you, and placed you here on the Earth, where you are to live together, where I have put every thing in order but what is neceſſary for that purpoſe and your ſelves, which I leave you to agree upon amongſt your ſelves, pleaſe your ſelves, and you pleaſe me, whether you have a mind to be all Kings, or have one ſo; nothing leſs, then ſome expreſs Relation to this purpoſe, can make one think, the God of Order ſhould leave the Foundation of it ſo looſely laid, in the grand Particular on which ſo much depended; or that he ſhould give Indefinite Commiſſions for Civil Government, without putting Men under any neceſſity of Executing them, as to the When, or the How, or determining the Perſons of the Adminiſtrators, without which done, Men may talk as long as they will of Civil Government being a Divine Ordinance amongſt them, but in truth it is no more ſo, than Cocks and Bulls have amongſt them, where Fathers Rule by Divine Right, till the Childrens Spurs and Horns are grown out.

10. If God Inſtituted Government, he thinks it neceſſarily follows, that that Inſtitution conſiſted both of Determination of Form, and Deſignation of Perſon; without which, a ſhapeleſs Power thrown in amongſt Mankind, was at beſt but a Gift of a Golden Apple, a Preſent fitter for a Goddeſs *Diſcordia*, to ſet Men together by the Ears withal, then the God of Peace.

11. And he concludes therefore that Civil Government is not any conveyance of Power from the People to Governours, but that God immediately put it into the Hands

that

that were to manage it, and that Contracts are not the original of Government, but Supplemental only of original Government, either Declarative of its Form, Determinative of ſome of its uncertainer Circumſtances, or Preſervative of its ſuppoſed Ends, by adding thoſe Mutual Securities, which the Corruption of Nature, and the degeneracy of Mankind, have made neceſſary, as well for the Governing, as Governed againſt each other; legal Conditions added to Government reſpect original Government as Laws poſitive do the Law Natural.

12. Tho' Government thus divinely Inſtituted was originally Arbitrary, yet he thinks it never was unlimited, and neither the Receſſion from the former, nor Conceſſion of the latter, give the Subject a Right to Reſiſtance: *1ſt*, if the Supreme's originally Arbitrary Will was Irreſiſtable, the turning it by change of ſort, and different way of notifying it, to the certainty of a publickly ſtated and legal one, does not make it otherwiſe ſince 'tis the ſame Will differently propoſed, and is ſo far from looſing any of its Irreſiſtibility by being determin'd, that it ought to be ſo much the more ſo, by how much more reaſonably and unexceptionably offer'd. If the Supreme's Arbitrary Will was not Irreſiſtable, then there is nothing got to the Subject by having it turn'd to a ſetled and legal one, and Laws are no Bleſſings; if they had a Right to oppoſe it when they did not like it, there was no occaſion of altering it; but it muſt be ſenſe of its Irreſiſtibility that muſt make its Converſion to certainty an Advantage, nay, if Laws (as they muſt be allow'd) are Irreſiſtible to the Subject, and an Arbitrary Will not ſo, then are Subjects in a worſe caſe under a legal Conſtitution than an Arbitrary one, and the legal Conſtitution is the true Tyranny, becauſe by the former if they ſuffer, their Right of Oppoſition keeps life ſtill in hopes of Redreſs, but by the latter, they are left even without all Right to be relieved; in ſhort, if Subjects have a Right to Reſiſtance, all Governments are much the ſame, it being the ſenſe of Irreſiſtibility only that Creates the difference, which, he that deſtroys levels at once all the Diſtinctions of, or if there is any, a Republick is the moſt Subtle and Treacherous Tyranny

ranny of all, where they are not only liable to the ſame Abuſes, but under the ſpecious pretence of what is Impoſed being their own Act forſooth, and by their own Conſent, the Wretches are coaxed out of that very Natural Right, by the managers of Reſiſtance, and Self-Preſervation, whilſt they are cockering them up with the Fancy of it; and at the ſame time they Fleſh them for Rebellion to all other Governments, hold them to *Paſſive Obedience* to themſelves, and ſecurely do what they pleaſe, by making them believe it was themſelves that did it.

13. Nor 2*dly*, does the Conceſſion of Governments being by original Inſtitution limited, give the Subject a Right to Reſiſtance, which Limitation he takes to be the Foundation of Monarchical Attemperation, and from which all the Rights of Subjects, added to their Natural one of diſtinguiſhing their Soveraign ariſe; as the aſcertaining of thoſe limits loſt, and grown doubtful, is the proper Subject of Civil Contract. For Government on both ſides acknowledged to have been Inſtituted with bounds, in the beginning well known Naturally or Poſitively, and in no danger of being Tranſgreſt, tho' the Subject has no Right of fixing them for the Soveraign, or the Soveraign for himſelf, yet, they may fairly by mutual Agreement aſcertain them doubtful, and aſſign them, correſpondently to the original draught between them; but Reſiſtance is ſo far from being a Natural Right to be Articled for upon ſuch Contract, that 'tis one of the grand Evils to be Articled againſt. For,

14. The Reſiſtance of Subjects and Tyranny of Soveraigns he takes to be the two oppoſite extreams of Government, equally without the original Inſtitution, anſwerable Exceſſes at each end; the Soveraign lying under the ſame Temptation to the one, as the Subject does to the other; either of which no Contract between them can give a direct Right to, or make Lawful; the ſupreme Power, tho' willing, can no more give the Subject a Right to reſiſt it, than the People can, by any Conceſſion of theirs, give that a Right to turn his Government to Tyranny over them; as it can't well be ſuppoſed, that were it lawful matter of Contract between them, they on either ſide, ſhould Conſent fairly

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to that which 'tis ſo much their Intereſt to prevent; and which whatever they do Conſent to, is by way of Precaution againſt as their reciprocal Ruin.

15. Yet Reſiſtance and Tyranny being anſwerably oppoſite Evils, he thinks it not fair, that all the Severities ſhould lye on one ſide againſt the one, and none againſt the other, but as the Sovereign has, and ought to have from the Subject all poſſible aſſurances of their not breaking in upon the Divine Inſtitution of Government, by Reſiſting him, and has a right and power to Puniſh them if they do, ſo they ought to have back from him all poſſible Securities of their not ſuffering by the Exceſs at his end of it, which, being to them unaccountable, and irreſiſtable, they can no otherwiſe have, nor he give them, than thro' the aforementioned Natural Right of diſtinguiſhing his Perſon and Title to the Soveraignty itſelf; by his ſetling together with them publick ſtanding Evidence for the Relation between them to be try'd and determin'd by; and agreeing to let the Execution of his Commiſſion, within ſuch ſtated Boundaries, that they agree it never was to exceed, be amongſt the other Notes and Marks characteriſtick of his Perſon; and add it an Eſſential to the demonſtration of his Title, making it a Negative, as no Man can deſire his Title to divine Commiſſion to be acknowledged on eaſier Terms, than his faithfully Executing its confeſt Contents according to himſelf, ſo Subjects can guide themſelves by no ſtronger preſumptive Evidence, (which is what they muſt go by) that a Perſon is not truly Entitled to ſuch Commiſſion, than his groſsly Contradicting its acknowledged Tenor.

16. Thus by legal Contract Tyranny is capable of being made deſtructive of Irreſiſtibility, but without firſt deſtroying the Relation there can be no right of Oppoſition, for Irreſiſtibility is of the Eſſence of Supremacy, and a Subject with a right of Reſiſtance is a contradiction in Terms, and to Oppoſe one at the ſame time he calls Soveraign; whoſe Authority till put by of that Character is irreconcilable to Oppoſition.

17. If ſuch Contract interceeded between King *James* and his Subjects, then did he doubly fall from his Soveraign-

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ty, legally and naturally. But tho' he thinks such a Contract may be, yet does he not think it always necessarily is; if such Contract had been in his Country's Constitution, he is thoroughly satisfyed that King *James* did violate what must have been its undoubted Contents, but as no such Contract is necessary to be believed to make out his *Abdication*, or justify the *Revolution*, so is he not aware that there ever was such a one, or if there were, he thinks it ought not only to appear and be produced, or at least its Memory preserved in some Authentick Records, but be proved the Act and Deed of both Parties, consented to by Soveraign as well as Subject; otherwise an imaginary Contract is to him by no means Satisfactory. Besides, he thinks the very name Original very exceptionable, and destroys whatever Authority, all the rest allow'd, it might have; if by Original, is meant more than Ancient, *viz.* the Original of Civil Order; as the Name is injurious to God, and he should think himself False to the Rights of his Creator, should he assent to it, as very lamely leaving Civil Government his Ordinance, and subverting that Divine Institution of it, which 'tis the utmost end of all such Contract both in notion and practice to Guard and Preserve.

18. *Secondly*, The *Resistance* of Subjects is contrary to the express Word of God.

When Mr. *Hoadly* has tamper'd with St. *Paul*, with all the Art of a cunning Manager, yet he will never make his Thirteenth of the *Romans* speak for his Turn, till he destroy the plain force of Words, which he thinks it sufficient to appeal to, against all Books, Arguments, and Explications whatsoever: *Rom.* 13. *Let every Soul be subject to the Higher Powers, for there is no Power but of God, and the Powers that be, are Ordained of God*, &c

Whosoever therefore Resisteth the Power, Resisteth the Ordinance of God, &c.

That by the Word *Powers* and *Power* St. *Paul* meant Persons in Power, not Magistracy but Magistrates, not Government but Governours chiefly if not only, he takes care by being his own Expositor to put out of dispute, which granted, he takes St. *Paul*'s sense to be this,

Let every Soul) let every Perſon of what Degree ſoever from his Heart and Conſcience

Be Subject to the Higher Powers,) ſubmit in all things, I except none, to Civil Magiſtrates, to the King as Supreme, and to deputed Magiſtrates, or thoſe ſent by him incluſively they being all as one.

For there is no Power but of God,) For theſe Magiſtrates were originally all of them of God's more immediate Appointment.

And the Powers that be, are ordained of God;) and thoſe that now are in being, fairly acknowledged to be ſuch, being a Succeſſional Continuation of thoſe firſt, and ſupplying their places, are Entitled to the ſame Divine Appointment,

Whoſoever therefore Reſiſteth, Reſiſteth the Power, Reſiſteth the Ordinance of God.) ſo that he that Reſiſteth the worſt of them all, and teacheth Men ſo, Reſiſteth not a Creature, as he may pretend to call him of the Peoples putting up, but of God's own Appointment.

In which Words the Man that finds any Room for Right of Reſiſtance, but by Ceſſation of Character, ſees what with naked Eye he does not apprehend a likelyhood of diſcovering

19. But ſuppoſing that the Doctrine of Reſiſtance is not downright Falſe, but that 'tis a drawn Battle between its Aſſerters and their Antagoniſts, their Reaſons equal, their Scripture Evidence Equivalent, and that the Doctrine is as likely to be True as otherwiſe, yet ought the fate of an Empire, ought Her Majeſty's Right and Title, and the Foundation of all that Happineſs that Mr. *Hoadly* ſo Rhetorically ſets forth, to be all ventured on ſuch an uncertainty? To be truſted on ſuch a wavering and fickle Bottom? is a perhaps——and and an it may be—— and who knows but Her Majeſty's Title, *&c.* may be good, and the Kingdom much in the Right on't, fit Principles to truſt the Nations ALL ſolely to?

20. Or to ſuppoſe farther that Mr. *Hoadly*, *&c.* has the better of his *Non-Reſiſting* Oppoſers, that 'tis probable, much more probable that he is in the Right than Wrong,

yet

yet ſtill 'tis an unſafe Defenſe at beſt, the utmoſt that can be pretended to, or hoped for, is to bring it to a ——— 'tis likely the Revolution is juſtifyable, there is moſt Reaſon to think that we have not been much to blame, Reſiſtance can never hope for Succeſs for its Reaſons beyond this, it can never be a Doctrine of full and general Aſſurance; tho' the Reaſons of the other ſide of the Queſtion, have not force enough to convince for themſelves, yet have they Colour enough both to maintain a Party, with the help at leaſt of a little Prejudice and Inclination, and force enough to create Suſpence by preventing the contrary Reaſons being Demonſtrative.

21. 2*dly*, As the Doctrine of the Right of Reſiſtance is a National Defenſe unſafe in it ſelf with reſpect to the Caſe it ſelf, or what's paſt, ſo is it ſo alſo with reſpect to Conſequences. The Revolution having made us Happy and Eaſy, it ought to be our care to keep our ſelves ſo, now we are ſo, to fix us when we are well where we are, and prevent our falling back into the like unhappy Circumſtances again, or running forward into worſe; to diſcourage the cauſes of farther Revolution, which we now have no more occaſion for. But putting us upon the Principles of Reſiſtance and Power being derived from the People, he thinks is putting us on ſuch Revoluble Terms, that God knows how ſoon we may rowl back again from whence we have Revolved. The Rowl of the generality of Mankind, where once from worſe to better, is ten times from better to worſe and worſe, and that of the Common People moſt of all uncertain; and if by one Wave we have been luckily toſt Aſhore, with the ſame or the like, we may be toſt to Sea again, if left to its Mercy, within the ſweep of its Power, and Right of ſo doing; which he ſhould not have preſumed ſo publickly to ſay of the Doctrine of Reſiſtance, were he not aſſured that the Revolution's Defenſe that way were.

22. 3*dly*, An unneceſſary Defenſe, unneceſſary he means to be the only or National one; he cannot ſee any neceſſity or occaſion indeed there is, of the Doctrine being ſo warmly urged, and Dictatorially impoſed, as if all lay at Stake

upon it, that it must not only be one, and the best, but the only way of the Nation's Vindication; and why nothing but running directly counter to the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* should make a Man a Right good Subject to Her Majesty, and Successors, according to the Establisht Limitation of the Crown.

23. *First*, There is no Natural necessity, 2*dly*, There is no legal necessity of reducing the Defense of the Revolution to this strait and extremity, and putting the Nations all upon the single issue of the truth of one slippery Point.

24. That there is no Natural necessity, if it has not already appeared from what has been offer'd, yet 'tis sufficiently Demonstrated by there being no legal necessity, the Legislature having the case of the Revolutions Justice, and its security under their Consideration, would not have fail'd of settling a Point so essential to its Defense, as the Confirmation of the Doctrine of Resistance, and Government being a Conveyance from the People, had they been convinced, *First*, of the truth of those Propositions, and 2*dly*, that there was that immediate Natural Connexion between the Justice of the present Establishment and that truth acknowledged, that there was no other way of its Vindication or Approbation but by it; nor would they have fail'd of Retracting the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*, had they thought it not onely certainly false in it self, but inconsistent with the Safety of the present Government, whose Foundations it undermines, and their doing neither of these, neither putting Men either under a Necessity or Obligation of Assenting to the Truth of the former, or Renouncing the latter, is Testimony sufficient that they neither look on *Passive Obedience* as inconsistent with, or the belief of the Contrary Essential to the Nation's Vindication, or making good Subjects to Her Majesty.

25. All that the Legislature have done towards either of these, is what may be interpretatively inferred from the Abrogation, of the Old Oaths of Allegeance and Supremacy, in which the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* was formally included, and substituting other Oaths in their stead, in which that Doctrine is not contain'd or took notice of; and

and Enacting that the Declaration, in the Act of Uniformtiy, ſo far as expreſt in theſe Words —— (*I. A. B.* do declare that it is not Lawful upon any Pretenſe whatſoever to take Arms againſt the King) ſhall not from thenceforth be required or injoyn'd, nor any Perſon ſuffer any Forfeiture, Penalty, or Loſs, by the not taking, ſubſcribing, or making the ſaid Oath, or the ſaid recited part of the ſaid Declaration, *&c.* (*Ann. Prim. Guliel. & Mar.*)

26. By the Abrogation of theſe Oaths, and this Declaration, the Doctrine of *Non Reſiſtance* before Eſtabliſht is no more either Retracted or Condemned by the Legiſlature, than the reſt of the Doctrine of the Eſtabliſht Church of *England* is, or its whole Worſhip, by the Penal Laws being took off, nor the Doctrine of Reſiſtance any more Eſtabliſht by it, then the Contradiction to the Churches Doctrines are by being Tolerated.

27. The Act neither reſpects the Doctrine of *Non Reſiſtance* in it ſelf, as to Natural Truth or Falſhood, which it leaves as formerly, without any Reflection caſt upon it; nor its Political Effects or Influence on the Eſtabliſhment, but leaves Men without diſcouragements to profeſs and Practice it as freely as before; but 'tis the Mode of its Impoſition only that he conceives the Act regards, they thought it not Expedient to put certain Perſons in certain Caſes, under the ſame neceſſity as formerly of Profeſſing it, by Abrogating the Injunction and remitting the Penalties; but then even this Abrogation is not Total, but Partial and Circumſtantial, reſtrain'd to the particular mention'd; and if the Doctrine of *Non Reſiſtance*, was in it ſelf legally true before, it is ſtill ſo in the Eye of the Law, notwithſtanding any thing ſaid or done by this Act to the Contrary; if it was the Conſtitutions Principle before, 'tis ſo ſtill as to Directive Force, tho' not as to Penal Obligation, and Degree of Sanction in particular Caſes; tho' the Obligation is relaxed to certain Perſons on ſome occaſions, yet without thoſe Caſes, there is no legal Alteration can be ſuppoſed; the Abrogation of *Non Reſiſtance* being therefore as to Penalty only, with reſpect to the whole Doctrine Conſtituted is no more than a Diſpenſation, which he takes to be an

Abrogation of Penalties with reſtraint to Perſons and Caſes, its Deſign ſeems to bear harmleſs not to juſtify, to free from Puniſhment not to Entitle to Approbation; a Licence and Permiſſion, not to profeſs the Churches Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience* without incurring Penalty is no Exception againſt the Rule as to Practice, much leſs a diſallowing as to Principle, and leaſt ſtill of all can the Abrogation of Penalty, induce any Obligation to the contrary either Belief or Practice. Muſt *Non Reſiſtance* preſently be Treaſon; becauſe the Government is gentle in not rigourouſly exacting the Profeſſion of it? Muſt the once Eſtabliſht Traiterous Poſition of *Reſiſtance* be Authoritatively turn'd into Loyalty becauſe Men in ſome caſes are not ſo ſtrictly held to the Renouncing of it? Is ceaſing to be Penalty injoyn'd Condemning a Doctrine? And making another not publickly be Renounced Eſtabliſhing of it? Muſt *Non Reſiſtance* by being not impoſed be forbid? And Reſiſtance becauſe not forbid be impoſed? The Legiſlature have over and over again Eſtabliſht *Non Reſiſtance*, and never yet forbid it, or declared it either falſe, inconſiſtent with true Loyalty, or inconvenient, they have as publickly declared the Doctrine of Reſiſtance Traiterous forbid it and never yet Eſtabliſht it or determin'd any thing in its Favour; if the Act of the Legiſlature has not left the Doctrines indifferent to the Conſtitution, 'tis certain the Advantage is on the ſide of *Non Reſiſtance*, which being in Poſſeſſion, is no otherwiſe diſpoſſeſt, then altering the Mode of its Injunction makes it ſo; nor is the interdict of its Oppoſite farther took off, than withdrawing the Penalties does it, and Mr. *Hoadly* carries things too high, and by too much affecting the high Mode of Principle doubly out runs the Conſtitution, no leſs by making his Reſiſtance Monopolize the Conſtitution's Favour, beyond what the Eſtabliſhment gives him Authority or occaſion to do, and decrying *Non Reſiſtance*, as the Governments declared Bane and Averſion, which the Law upholds it muſt be from being let into the Myſteries of the Government, and the Legiſlatures Secrets, not from their declared will according to the Letter of the Law, that Mr. *Hoadly* as in the Government's Name, raiſes his Indignation againſt

againſt *Non Reſiſtance* ſo high, and his Abhorrence of it as in its behalf, and by its particular Patronage; and from which he infers all that Enmity, and Antipathy between it and the Government that he takes as granted; either from ſome Previous debates from which the Act aroſe, or ſome views with which it was made, amongſt which views, nothing but their own Authority ſhall make him believe, that the Determination of the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience* as to Truth or Falſehood was one, convenience or inconvenience to the Government; much leſs the implicit Condemnation of that Doctrine, or to make it leſs the allow'd Principle of as many as found its Profeſſion no hindrance to their Reconciliation to the Government; or that the implicit Eſtabliſhment of Reſiſtance was intended.

28. If the Truth or Falſehood of the Point of *Non Reſiſtance* had been at all matter of the Legiſlatures Conſideration, and the Suppreſſion of that Doctrine as falſe and inconſiſtent with the Juſtice of the Revolution, and rendring Men juſtly ſuſpected and Obnoxious to publick reſentment, the end of that Abrogation, his reſpect to their Wiſdom and Honour forbids him to think otherwiſe (being above Contradiction, and under no Aws) but that they would have made their Proviſion againſt it more effectual, by roundly, and in Words at length putting its Profeſſion under interdict, and turning the Penalty of its non-acknowledgment to the non-Renunciation of it; and not by a Declaration manifeſtly inſufficient, have left the Nation under the Poſſeſſion of ſo Dangerous a Principle. Nay, ſuppoſing the Abrogation to have proceeded from the Parliaments ſenſe of the Doctrine of *Non Reſiſtance* being inconſiſtent with the Juſtification of the Eſtabliſhment, their touching it with ſo legere a hand gives but a to Apparent occaſion to ill-minded Perſons to make a more unworthy Conſtruction ſtill, as if they had thought it rather true than falſe, and put it out of ſight, that it might not put the Kingdom out of Countenance, by looking it too full in the Face, and reproach it for what had been done.

29. And he concludes therefore that no discovery of the Legislatures mind concerning either the Truth of the Doctrine of *Non Resistance*, or its inconsistency with the Justice of the Revolution, ought to be supposed made by the Acts of Abrogation of the Oaths and Declaration, *&c.* nor the Defence of any thing past respected; but that the present and future Advantage of the Revolution, as that Advantage was to be procured by enlarging the way to Reconciliation to it, was the whole end of that Abrogatory Law; to open all the passages for Men to come conscientiously into its Interests by enjoying its Benefits; that the way of access to it might not be thro' the narrow defile of a single Principle only, which they found a great many Bogled at, whom it was not the Common Interest to exclude in a juncture of Difficulty and Danger, but leaving the Constitutional Principle free still to all those who by it could become good Subjects, or by acquiescing not bad ones, the Government might take in all but the obstinate or unfortunate that way; and not loose those the other way, who possest with the contrary Principle of Resistance, thought the Revolution no otherwise justifyable than by it, and could comply with it on no other Terms; who by the necessity of its Renunciation being removed, might be let into the Common Engagement for its Defence.

30. And he sees no cause hitherto why the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*, and 'Government being by Divine Right should be insulted, as those abandon'd Principles, that Men need either be afraid or ashamed to profess, or why taking to themselves, some of that Assurance with which only their Adversaries run them down, they may not at least challenge the Governments Favour equally with their Contraries, and if they delighted in Recrimination return all, that odious charge of Falsehood to, undermining of, and inconsistency with the present Establishment, upon Resistance and popular Institution of Government, which those so confidently pretend to bring against them? Or why they should doubt to plead their Cause before all the true lovers of their Country's Monarchy and honest and impartial Friends of Christ's Religion Establisht amongst us? And by fair Comparison

show

ſhow how the Revolution, Her Majeſty, and the preſent Eſtabliſhment owes as much to them, may promiſe themſelves more Security from them, then can be propoſed from their Contraries.

31. He Humbly offers the following Ballance of Accounts between the two Doctrines, in behalf of *Non Reſiſtance*, to the Coſideration of all Honeſt and unprejudiced *Britains*.

To conſider whether *Non Reſiſtance* has enſlaved more Communities than Reſiſtance has confounded?

Whether Reſiſtance has depoſed more Tyrants then it has deſtroyed good Kings?

Whether it tend not as much to Anarchy as *Non Reſiſtance* does to Tyranny?

Whether the Calamities to be apprehended from the latter are not as great as thoſe from the former?

Whether *Paſſive Obedience* is not capable of giving as good ſecurities againſt Tyranny as Reſiſtance againſt Anarchy and Rebellion?

Whether Reſiſtance expoſes not Governours to the ſame Inconveniencies from Subjects, that *Non Reſiſtance* does them from Governours, and whether is the greater Evil?

Whether way (the dangers from each being ſuppoſed equal) Men are likelyeſt to become moſt Guilty?

Whether Men are more inclined to do wrong or to ſuffer it?

Whether equal Evils ſuffer'd by Reſiſtance are not a greater Calamity then the other way? By *Non Reſiſtance* if they are miſerable it muſt be by others Faults, not their own, by Reſiſtance their Miſery is uſually their Crime, by doing wrong they not only ſuffer it but muſt ſuffer again for ſuffering.

Whether the Kingdom (allowing it the Revolution) is in Reſiſtance's debt? Whether 'tis not the more likely to overturn its own Favour?

And for the Profeſſors of the Doctrines however unhappy the Doctrine of *Non Reſiſtance* is in being Common to diſaffected Perſons that propoſe ill Ends by it, with the Body of Honeſt Well-Wiſhers to the Eſtabliſht Communion, yet the

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Profeſſors of Reſiſtance muſt own they want not their ſet of Profligates that drive on amongſt them to their Diſparagement, ſuch as would not break their Hearts to have Her Majeſty the *Auguſtula* of the *Britiſh* Empire, that beginning with *William* ſhould Monarchically end in *Anne* the Conquerour.

32. He cannot likewiſe forbear being free in Suggeſting, that it looks to him as contrary to Honeſt Decency and good manners, as 'tis to the Principle of doing as Men would be done by, to put their Soveraign in a ſtate they deny to be in themſelves, and to expoſe Her to all thoſe pretended Dangers from every one of her Subjects, that they call intolerable to be liable to from Her. The greater Grievance, they think *Non Reſiſtance* the more unfair they to Subject their Queen to it, they muſt for ſhame allow Her the ſame Right of Reſiſting them, that they claim againſt Her, and to let Her be no looſer by what they otherwiſe improperly call Her Soveraignty, if ſhe is no gainer by it; nor be the only Perſon diveſted of the Natural Right of ſelf Defence in the whole Society. 'Tis very unnatural that by being Head ſhe ſhould be in a worſe caſe then any Member of the Body beſide. And if Mr. *Hoadly*'s Loyalty is turn'd that way, to lye in a Right, together with his fellow Members of Reſiſting the Queen, when they ſee occaſion, he will not offer to treat Her Majeſty ſo coarſely as to deny her the ſame Right againſt him, that he ſo Graciouſly beſtows upon himſelf againſt her.

33. He preſumes therefore upon it, and takes it as granted, that thoſe that ſo largely adjudge to themſelves the Right of Reſiſting the Queen, will in good Conſcience or good Manners grant Her Majeſty back the ſame Favour back againſt themſelves.

34. Now to think of limiting this Reciprocal Right either way he apprehends Impracticable, and to ſay that Subjects have a Right of Reſiſting the Soveraign, but 'tis only when he exceeds his Commiſſion, and Acts contrary to their good, the end of his Inſtitution; and the Soveraign the like Right upon them again, but 'tis only when they

they Act Contrary to their Duty; ſince being both neceſſarily judges in their own Cauſe, and no Appeal lying from either to the other, or otherwiſe, the Right is Arbitrary and Abſolute, and they have each as often as they ſee fit a Right Irreſiſtible to Puniſh and Oppoſe each other; the Soveraign may judge the Peoples Reſiſtance Rebellion, and by Virtue of his Right juſtly Execute them, if he can catch them; they may judge that Exerciſe of his Right Tyranny and as lawfully Murder him if they can come at him; and thus War may not only be on both ſides Lawful, but the moſt Unnatural Civil War between Prince and Subject, on both ſides a Duty; both, at leaſt to each other may be blameleſs, muſt juſtify or cannot Condemn the other. For if the Subject have a Right of Reſiſting their Soveraign, and they themſelves not he, are to judge when that Right is to be made uſe of, for him to Condemn them is breaking in upon their Priviledge and uſurping their Right; and if he again have any Right of Reſiſting them, and they are not to tell him when to uſe it; but he is to direct himſelf, to Condemn what he does againſt them, is to take away from him what at the ſame time they allow him. 'Tis a Right and no Right, unleſs attended with a Right of judging when 'tis to be exerciſed, for what better would the Subject be for a Right of Reſiſtance, if they were never to uſe it but when the Soveraign ſhould tell them now 'tis proper? Or what better were he for his Right upon his Subjects, if he were not to uſe it till thoſe he exerciſed it upon gave him the Word? The Reſiſtance muſt be mutually Arbitrary or it comes to nothing either way; and no Reſiſtance of Subjects could be Rebellion unleſs the Actors declared it ſo, and no Contradiction of Soveraigns to Subjects could be Tyranny unleſs they own'd it ſo, ſeeing they not the Subjects are to judge of it.

35. But it being impoſſible that Government ſhould thus be built on Irreſiſtible Competitions by mutual Rights of Reſiſtance, the Evils of which 'tis its end to prevent, it therefore follows, that Reſiſtance on one ſide or t'other muſt be laid down and *Non Reſiſtance* took in its place, which

which neceſſarily muſt be ſomewhere in the Community; if 'tis turn'd off by the Members and they renounce it, nothing is more certain than that the head muſt take up with it, to whoſe ſhare it muſt fall; if they will not be *Non Reſiſting* Subjects, they muſt have a *Non Reſiſting* Soveraign; if all or every one of Her Subjects have a laſt and unaccountable Right to Her, or of Reſiſting Her, She can have none of Reſiſting all or any one of them; and hence it follows that She that carries a Pale upon her Head, has more Power then She that wears the Crown there, becauſe She has her ſhare at leaſt of an unlimited Irreſiſtible Power, one Grain of which is more then all the whole Body of Reſiſtible Power amounts to.

36. Since therefore on muſt quite Claim to Right of Reſiſtance, Prince or People, and ſubmit to *Paſſive Obedience*, he refers it to Mr. *Hoadly* to Pronounce for whether 'tis moſt agreeable, who knows better things, than to leave his Queen at his Feet long, but with the utmoſt Confuſion of ſhame and haſte will change the Unnatural Scene, by quitting the Principles that give the Idea.

37. Indeed the Doctrine of Reſiſtance heightens the Virtue of Loyalty, and raiſes the Merit of thoſe to whom Her Majeſty is obliged for being Dutiful Subjects, having the Right of being otherwiſe in them, which muſt be own'd their goodneſs how vaſt ſoever Her deſert is, it ſtands Her Majeſty in ſtead tho', he thinks, to keep the Reſiſting Principle of all ſuch in good Humour, while it is ſo, by anſwering their Expectations, who have publickly given Her ſuch fair warning that they have it in them.

38. An Arbitrary and Diſcretionary Reſiſtance of the Supreme Powers, is certainly a wild Principle to run looſe in a Community; it ſeems to him ſuch a Guard to Society, as a Furious Dog is to a Houſe, that kept tyed up with no Chain, but what he can Break at Will, or Collar but what he can ſlip, has ſeveral times Bit and Frightned the Family round, and tore down their beſt Maſter, but at laſt luckily happen'd to hit Right, and to ſave the Houſe, by falling on an Invader; now the Queſtion is what is to be done in ſuch a caſe with the Dog?

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Can any wonder that many ſhould adviſe to diſpoſe of him with his Credit ſaved. But let no one of contrary Sentiments be in Pain, there is enough of that ſort of Corruption in Men, to fetch to life again the Principle of Reſiſtance however ſeemingly mortifyed, and in *Engliſh* Men more then enough; who have ſufficiently Taught the Throne, what truſt there is to that dependence; the Work he thinks is to keep it low enough, too apt to fly out before occaſion, and not to Pamper and keep it high in Blood, by publiſhing Panegyricks in its Praiſe, when no ſhadow of occaſion is in view; he thinks thoſe that approve the Principle ought to keep it to themſelves, ſince no Body Troubles or envies it them, thro' this Reign, and not by Trumpetting it thro' Her Dominions grate Her Majeſty's Ears with the Sound of what can't be imagin'd to be pleaſant to Her. May not Forreigners that hear with what warmth a Right of Reſiſting is now contended for, well wonder and ſay, for what Execution, are theſe Loyal *Britains* preparing their Right of Reſiſtance ſo Vigorouſly? Is it for their Queen that now is, or the Houſe of *Hannover*, that they are putting it in Order? It looks as if we were too fond of Reſiſting, to ſtickle ſo for it when no Buſineſs is in ſight, to Read Lectures in one Reign, for Practice in ſucceeding ones, to ſpend the time we do not exerciſe the Principle in, ſo much in giving it an Edge and making it keen, what ſhall I ſay? It will make the World Fancy that the Butcherly part as well as the Preſervative has ſome ſhare in the Inclination for it, as if a freſh occaſion to Employ it were hardly more fear'd then hoped for; to Employ the Intervals of King oppoſing in Ruminating the Exploits paſt, and Premeditating Future Reſiſtances, argues us too far gone in Addiction to it. Tho' in Perſons of diſtinguiſht Abilities and Advanced knowledge, that know how to Command and give it proper Reſtrictions, Reſiſtance may be ſuppoſed to lodge with ſafety as a Secret, yet to inculcate it indifferently on the Vulgar, under no Confinements, is very wrong, for tho' it may Fawn and Lick her Majeſty's Hand whilſt ſhe ſtrokes it, yet in ſuch Cuſtody, 'tis at beſt but a tame Lyon, a Tickliſh familiar Subject to ſuch

turning fits of rage as makes it not safe trusting the Head of a Community to it, especially so good a one.

39. If there were any occasion to propagate the Doctrine, the Parliament, would, he doubts not in due time, that, and every other way, provide for the Community's Security, but for private Men to be beforehand with Authority in Preaching up Resistance, is very much out of the way, under a Queen whose Fault if she have any as Queen, is excess of Goodness, and humouring her Subjects even more than is for their Interests; let those whom Heaven has scourged with a long course of Tyranny, try if they can argue themselves out of that Subjection, which may do them good, such kind of Rhetorick as Mr. *Hoadly*'s would have lookt something like in *France*, but by a Counterchange of Impropriety as if we were Cursed with *Lewis*, and they blest with Queen *Anne*, nothing is heard amongst them but Duty, and nothing amongst us but Resistance, which were it our Principle, yet is not our Interest to insist on.

40. As Her Majesty shows Her Subjects Rights and Liberties to be more Her care then Her own Prerogative, so the Kingdom both in Gratitude, Duty, and Honour should make Her Prerogative the first Article of their care, and not only in Gratitude but in Interest also. For,

41. To abuse the Condescension of indulgent and good Natured Princes to occasion of any Encroachment, is doubly the cause why Subjects have so few, that are such, both as it discourages others from being so, by the ill Account they observed it turn'd their Predecessors to, and makes Men less deserve them from him whose gift they are; to declare greater Rights and Liberties of Resisting Her than of any of Her Royal Ancestors, because she lets deserves it, is the ready way to discourage others from walking in Steps so ill requited.

42. Why must the Subject begin to be Taught under Her Reign to think meanlier of Her Regal Dignity, than of that of any of Her less Illustrious Ancestors? And the best Queen of the universe be meanlier thought of by Her Subjects? And Her Throne be sunk lower than ever it was thought to stand before? Why must the whole Rabble of

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Her Subjects be Thruſt in between Her and Heaven? Were Her Throne by being lower either the ſafer or eaſier, and our new Architects of Thrones, thinking its old Divine Inſtitution to high, and cockling would therefore Recommend Her one of Humbler Exaltation, as leſs Dangerous and tottering, the Alteration had lookt Officiouſly kind, but to pull Her from Her Irreſiſtible height and Divine Inſtitution, where Heaven had placed Her out of harms way, and place Her within the reach of every vulgar Arm, he knows not what to think of.

43. Why Proteſtants ſhould upbraid Papiſts upon the ſcore of Civil Duty he cannot ſee, if Reſiſtance be their Principle, which comes pretty well up to their King depoſing and King killing Doctrine; nay, unleſs Proteſtant Reſiſtance be brought to ſome Form, reduced to ſome Method, and be otherwiſe Propoſed than it is *per* Lump among us at preſent, he muſt injenuouſly confeſs the Advantage is on the Papiſts ſide, becauſe there is a Form at leaſt of regular Juſtice in the practice of their Doctrines; the main Point *de judice* is ſetled with them and a third Party, and he ſuppoſed Infallible is Judge between King and Subject, the Subjects are ſolemnly Abſolved from their Oaths and Allegiance, and the King himſelf by formal depoſition is preſumed to have his Soveraign Character deſtroy'd, before the Subjects right of Reſiſtance begins; but our bungling Proteſtant Reſiſtance has not one Regular part of Practice ſetled, but lyes in the utmoſt Confuſion, its Aſſerters having never come to any other Reſolutions about it than this in general, That we are to Kill the King, that he knows or obſerved, without any determined ſtep either of Beginning or Progreſs, as many Subjects, ſo many Popes, with the ſame King Depoſing right in them, and every one Judge too in their own Cauſe, Executing firſt and Trying afterwards, Reſiſting whilſt Acknowledging the Dignity remaining, nor grounding their right of Reſiſtance on the Soveraign Character ſuppoſed loſt, but on the Right of taking it away.

44. The Papiſts, I know, have formerly charged Proteſtantiſme with this tenent of Reſiſting the Supreme Powers, *Alph. D. Caſtro* (under the Head *Poteſtas)* reckons the Reſiſting

ſiſting the Supreme Magiſtrate amongſt the Hereſies originally of the *Waldenſes*, from whom he would have *Wickliffe* and *Hus* take it, and Popiſh Authors pretend to ſhow it amongſt the Articles of Condemnation of *Wickcliffe*'s Doctrine and *Hus*, by the Councel of *Conſtance* (*Seſſ.* 8.) but without juſt grounds, the Words ſuppoſed to contain the are theſe;

Nullus eſt dominus Civilis, nullus eſt Prelatus,
Nullus eſt Epiſcopus, dum eſt in peccato mortali.

but this ſuppoſing the Charge true, is far from the Doctrine of Reſiſtance, and is rather like that of *Non-Reſiſtance*, they thought that a nullity of Character and Forfeiture of Power and Dignity was the effect of groſs Enormities, and conſequently that ſuch a Forfeiture incurred, made a Perſon that had been Sovereign before, no longer to be ſo, and from Irreſiſtible to become Reſiſtible, not under the Notion of Soveraign, but as fallen from being ſo, and no longer ſo, otherwiſe (if continued to be ſo called) than equivocally, as the Picture of a Man is called a Man, ſo that Reſiſting of him was not reſiſting Authority, but the Shell and Carcaſe of it Departed; and they were very right therefore in the point of *Non-Reſiſtance*, and ſaw the irreſiſtibility of Power, but their Error lay (which if true was bad enough) in ſuppoſing a Ceſſation of Character where there was none, and Civil Authority to depend on the Faith and Manners and perſonal Behaviour of him that had it; the Extravagancies of the *Anabaptiſts* gave afterwards occaſion to revive the Calumny, and fix it on *Luther*, and the whole Reformation.

45. If the Propoſition, *quilibet Tyrannus*, &c. that any Tyrant might and ought to be Slain, by any Servant, Subject, or Vaſſal of his, by Ways unfair and Treacherous, notwithſtanding any Oaths of Allegiance, upon their private Judgment, without formal Proceſs or Conviction, *&c.* which was Condemned by that ſame Councel of *Conſtance* (*Seſſ.* 15.) had been *Hus* or *Wickliffe*'s Tenent, then might they have charged them with Reſiſtance to purpoſe.

46. Mr.

46. Mr. *Du Pin* (Century the 15th, Chap. 8.) Father's this Tenent upon one *John Petit*, a Doctor of Divinity of the Faculty of *Paris*, whose singular Opinion, he would have it thought occasionally started by *Petit*, maintaining the Action of *John* Duke of *Burgundy*, who had caused the Duke of *Orleans* to be Assassinated; *Petit* writ a Treatise on that Subject. Intitled, A Justification of the Duke of *Burgundy*, wherein he maintain'd, That it was Lawful for a private Person to put a Tyrant to Death; it was this Case, and Treatise, the Condemnatory Sentence of the Counsel immediately, and more particularly respected.

But however *Petit* might mistake the Point a little, or carry it too high perhaps, yet the Doctrine is, and was in those early Days, true Catholick Popery, exemplifyed in many a Bloody Instance since, justly charged upon them by us, and own'd by themselves, notwithstanding its pretended Condemnation, whilst they uphold as Meritorious Performers, and even Canonize the most notable Assassins, if they go but regularly about the Work. As a Doctrine indeed too high for vulgar Capacities, they do not seem forward to expose it too much to View in simple Colours, nor are over-fond of the Credit, which on easy Terms they seem willing to let us have, if they might have the Uses; and it looks like a Piece of Contrivance, either in the Counsel itself, or its Digester, to place it at the rate it is, after the pretended Errors of *Hus* and *Wickcliffe* continuedly, without the Name of its Author, so as to seem of the same Piece, an Appendix to their Errors, easily to be mistook by unwary Readers in Future Ages, for the off spring of *Hus* or some of his Gang; and so its Odium derived on Protestantism.

And tho' Mr. *Du Pin*, by throwing it all upon *Petit*, would not have it suspected to be the Common Principle of their Religion, yet his own Narrative sufficiently discovers it to be so, nay, the very Condemnatory Sentence itself does it; for he acquaints us with a great struggle the Doctrine publickly made before it submitted to the aforemention'd Condemnation; it was for sometime shelter'd from Censure by the Duke of *Burgundy*.

Afterward when it was Cenſured by the Biſhop of *Paris*, and the Inquiſitor, an Appeal was made for it to the Pope, where Examin'd by three Cardinals, that were appointed for that purpoſe, its former Cenſure was reverſed, and declared null.

Being again carried to the Counſel of *Conſtance*, it was there warmly debated, ſays Mr. *Du Pin*, ſo that what was carried againſt it, was not without great difficulty, and Oppoſition, and ſhows that ſome Circumſtances relating to the Caſe of the Duke of *Burgundy*, were rather Condemned than the Body of the Doctrine.

Which the Form of Condemnation it ſelf ſtill much more Confirms, having manifeſt Tokens, of being given up like a Favourite, with Reluctance, to ſatisfy a Party. For,

Firſt, a plain regard is had to *Petit*'s Reputation, and his Name is ſpared, as its Author.

'Tis not Pronounced directly Heretical, nor any Cenſured for what was paſt, but only thoſe, that for the time to come ſhould Obſtinately Defend it, are to be reputed Heretical.

And when all is done, it is Condemned with a manifeſt Key to it, that ſhows, that not the Tenent itſelf is Condemned, but the Irregular Practice of it only, (*non expectata Sententiâ judicis cujuſcunque*) there lyes the ſtreſs of the Condemnation, for a Subject to Murder his Prince was well enough, but he was not to be over-haſty in doing of it, nor to give the Blow before the Pope beckned, whoſe Sanctifying Nod, with ſome Conſecrated Dagger, the Religious Aſſaſſin was to wait for.

Nay the Pope, *Martin* the Fifth, after he was choſen by the Counſel, refus'd to ratify this Condemnation, imperfect and ſuch as it was, and tho' earneſtly required and importunately urg'd to it by *Gerſon*, yet ſhifted it off, (Mr. *Du Pin* Hiſtory of the Councel of *Con*)

This more then Barbarous Practice and Name of Aſſaſſination, I have ſome where Read is derived from an *Aſiatick* Brood of *Saracens*, called *Aſſaſſins*, who about the time

time of the *Cruſades*, had recourſe to this ſecret Method of diſpatching Chriſtian Princes deſigning for the holy Land againſt them, they formed it into a kind of Diſcipline, training up young Deſperadoes to transform themſelves into all Shapes, the better to Execute their Bloody Errands; from whom the Pope made a Tranſcript of the Doctrine and Practice for his Uſe, with the whole Model ſo exactly, that, *Mutato Nomine* (and hardly that) (for the Director in Chief of theſe Diſgracers of Humanity was Luckily called Father.) You may ſee the Original in the Copy; and tho' the Doctrine is not Incorporated in their Decretals, yet it may well be put amongſt their Extravagants, his Holineſs making choice of it as proper to ſave Chriſtian Blood and Money, when Princes proving Stubborn, would not Submit quietly as they ſhould, to his Excommunications and Depoſitions, and to do compendiouſly the Work of an Army, without the tedious Clutter and hazards of War.

47. And the *Quilibet Tyrannus* &c. Therefore is their own Doctrine, and theirs let it be, but far, always far from *Britiſh* Thoughts; but I muſt Speak my Fears to Mr. *Hoadly*, and Vain ones may they be.

I am affraid that an Arbitrary Right of Reſiſting an acknowledged Soveraign, grounded on every Subjects private Right of Judging him, under no Regulations of judiciary Form, but in a way of Tumultuary Violence, ends in horrible things, unleſs ſtopt ſhort of its Natural Conſequences which he does not ſee, how Conſiſtently with itſelf it ſhould, he is affraid it may produce more than he is aware of, and may lead to what he is unwilling to Name over again.

Nay, he Fears in ſhort that it muſt have this Doctrine neceſſarily included in it.

Mr. *Hoadly*, as he takes it, does not make the Right of Reſiſtance to depend upon Number, or Majority of the Community, nor to ariſe to every Man in an Empire from telling of Noſes, but from a laſt reſort of Judgment in every particular Member, and muſt be as much one ſingle Man's Right, tho' all the Community beſides were of another Mind, as the Communities, were they to that Man

agreed

agreed, and 'tis from every Man's Right of Judging his Soveraign Exerciſed, not Collectively, but Diſtinctly, the Right to Reſiſt ariſes to every one; now a Right to Reſiſt the Supreme Power, is a Right to make War upon him, in War all Advantages are Lawful, Ambuſh and Surprize eſpecially are laudable Stratagems, and if a Subject have a Right to Reſiſt, he has alſo a Right to Aſſaſſinate, which is the Ambuſh of a ſingle Man in this Caſe, where himſelf is both General and Army, to Way-lay, which is fair Surprize, at leaſt of a Tyrant Convict, that being not to be conſidered as a Juſt Enemy, without Formal Declaration of War, may be dealt with as a Malefactor, not ſubmitting to Sentance, whoſe Murder is Lawful Execution:

He knows how abhorrent Mr. *Hoadly*, whom he looks upon as a good Man, is from all ſuch Doctrine as this, which God forbid that he ſhould ſo mention, as to Impute any thing like it, to him, or any other *Engliſhman*, he would only Provoke him better to diſtinguiſh his Reſiſtance from theſe Conſequences, and for the ſake of a great many who may have honeſt Hearts and muddy Heads as he this Author may have, clear his Doctrine from this Imputation, and ſhow that there is no Connexion ſuch as he pretends, and that Reſiſtance has no Tendency that way.

He begs him alſo, by his Principles of Reſiſtance to ſhow wherein the Crimes of *Faux* and *Garnet* lay, and how far thoſe Miſcreants, judging King *James* a Tyrant, exceeded that Right of Reſiſtance he allows, and which way they are to be made Criminal.